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## Near East/South Asia Report

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17 May 1984

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## ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

### TURKISH JOURNALIST COMMENTS ON TERRORISM, ARMENIAN-GREEK TIES

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 31 Mar 84 pp 1, 4

[Text] Writing in today's CUMHURIYET, Ugur Mumcu has the following reflections on Armenian terrorism:

The terrorism carried out by Armenians against Turkish diplomats comes in the wake of two important events.

One is the 1974 Cyprus Peace Movement and the other is the dispersion of 300,000 Armenians to the four corners of the globe, and in particular to Marseille, fleeing the Lebanese civil war.

In this matter, there is a question of "Armenian-Greek cooperation," considering that Armenians, too, participate in the drug smuggling carried out in Southern Cyprus, enabling Armenian terrorists to take shelter and organize in Athens.

The creation of an Armenian Case regarding Turkey coincides with the period of terrorism and anarchy known as "The movement aimed at destabilizing Turkey."

There were of course countless causes for the period of terrorism that Turkey experienced. A realistic approach would be to think that the Armenian Case is also one of these causes.

In the years 1974-1975, we were faced with Armenian terrorism, on the one hand, and on the other, with an American arms embargo imposed as a consequence of our intervention in Cyprus. At the very same time occurred the Oil Crisis which upset the economy of the entire world and placed Turkey too in a difficult position.

Today, Turkey is again exposed to the menace of Armenian terrorism. The event in Tehran and ASALA's threats show that the Armenians are on the eve of new attacks. The month of April is an important one in this respect. This time, Armenian terrorists can, for instance, organize attacks in South America or in African countries where there have been no such incidents until now.

In view of this, it would be useful if certain measures are taken.

Armenian organizations establish bases in those countries which have mutual defense agreements with Turkey or have a security system similar to ours. Armenian movements are created in NATO member countries. Greek and Armenian lobbies together with several underground forces in their control, maintain very close relations with political circles in almost every country. This is a matter that deserves our closest attention.

Now, when we see that Armenian organizations are experimenting with new strategies or the American Congress is tying military aid to the problem of Marash or is applying a new kind of embargo, we cannot but remember earlier times. It is obvious that the Greek lobby has exerted pressure on the Congressional Committee. When we realize that the new Armenian strategy coincides perfectly with this new American embargo, we are led to wonder whether this is a mere coincidence. Perhaps it is simply an accident, but the fact remains that Armenian terrorism and American pressures occur simultaneously. Will this thought succeed in awakening from their lethargy our sympathizers in America? We doubt it, because we live in an era where we think foreign economic force is the only source of security.

The only way to shake off this state of mind is to rekindle, in the whole land, Ataturk's torch of "total independence" and to remember the chants of "Nationalist Forces."

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BENSALEM SMILI REVIEWS DEVELOPMENT OF OCEAN FISHERIES

Casablanca LA VIE ECONOMIQUE in French 30 Mar 84 pp 3, 5-6

[Interview with Bensalem Smili, minister of ocean fisheries and merchant marine, by El Amine Palamino: "Huge Progress Achieved in Ocean Fisheries"; date and place not specified]

- [Text] - 1.185 billion dirhams invested from 1981 to 1983;
- Fishing fleet = 122,000 tons of gross tonnage (+50 percent);
  - Completion of integrated projects;
  - 1983 Production: 345,000 tons for 1.219 billion dirhams (326,000 tons and 455 million dirhams in 1980);
  - Exports: 1.448 billion dirhams;
  - Current revision of the Maritime Code;
  - 180 deep-sea fishing units in service (zero in 1973)
  - Two large fishing ports: Agadir and Tan Tan
  - 5 percent of catches reserved for consumption.

Mr Bensalem Smili, minister of ocean fisheries and merchant marine, is a man with a wide experience of maritime problems. For a long time, he was general director of Customs, a position of responsibility in which he had to cope daily with difficult problems of freight, cargo, storage and transport. At the head of the Ministry of Merchant Marine, which is now an independent ministry associated to the new Ministry of Ocean Fisheries, Mr Smili has undertaken a long and exacting task, especially with respect to fisheries, which are already one of Morocco's major economic sectors and whose vital role as such should be developed considerably during the next few years.

Since it was created early in 1981, the Ministry of Ocean Fisheries has achieved remarkable results, and the minister agreed to comment on them.

Here is the text of our interview with Mr Bensalem Smili, minister of ocean fisheries and merchant marine.

[Question] Mr Minister, a ministry dedicated to the maritime sector was created early in 1981. Is it already possible to draw a balance of the development of ocean fisheries?

[Answer] From its creation, and in accordance with the high orders of His Majesty Hassan II, the Ministry of Ocean Fisheries and Merchant Marine had set the following objectives for itself:

- to promote exports so as to increase foreign currency revenues;
- to increase fish consumption in the country;
- to create new jobs; and
- to intensify vocational training.

It is with these objectives in mind that the Ministry of Ocean Fisheries and Merchant Marine has carried out its activities.

Yet, we should point out that the consistent development of the ocean fisheries sector is a long and exacting task requiring steady efforts and perseverance on the part of maritime operators. Therefore, it would be premature to draw a final balance of the results obtained and all we can show is the trend of significant indicators in this sector.

This trend is also the result of a sustained investment effort, both from the State and from private investors.

If we consider the first three years of implementation of the current five-year plan, we note that:

- As far as investments are concerned:

Investments made to acquire new fishing units amounted to 760 million dirhams during the first 3 years of the current 5-year plan, increasing the gross tonnage from 80,700 tons to 122,000 tons in 1983.

In this respect, we should note the emergence of integrated fishing projects, a new phenomenon of eminent importance for the ocean fisheries sector in that promoters now have a global vision of what fishing is about instead of perceiving the fishing boat as an end in itself.

During the period considered, in addition to the amounts invested to purchase boats, 425 million dirhams were invested on land, bringing the total investments in the ocean fisheries sector to 1.185 billion dirhams.

- As far as production is concerned:

In 1980, production amounted to 326,000 tons, worth 455 million dirhams; it reached 435,000 tons in 1983, and a value of over 1.219 billion dirhams. If this trend is maintained, the minimum production forecasts of the current 5-year plan--450,000 tons by the end of 1985--will be exceeded.

- As far as exports are concerned:

Exports of seafood products, including canned products, nearly tripled in value, reaching 1.448 billion dirhams in 1983, compared to hardly 486 million dirhams in 1980, and during the same period exports increased from 72,000 to 168,000 tons.

- As far as jobs are concerned:

The labor force employed directly or indirectly in the ocean fisheries sector is of some 71,500 people (including 33,000 at sea), compared with 56,000 in 1980.

- As far as the Kingdom's domestic food supply is concerned, 106,000 tons of fish were supplied to the local consumption market in 1983 compared with 77,000 tons in 1980.

- As far as vocational training is concerned, 1,037 seagoing cadres, including 404 officers, were trained by the Higher Institute of Ocean Studies, and 633 by fisheries vocational schools. These numbers exceed the forecasts of the 1981-1985 plan which were for 790 cadres by the end of 1983.

[Question] Mr Minister, are these considerable achievements in line with what Morocco is expecting from the development of its ocean fisheries?

[Answer] I believe we are on the right track but, as I already pointed out, we still have a long way to go. For example, the direct and indirect benefits we could derive from a transfer of deep-sea fishing operations to Moroccan ports are quite important, quantitatively and qualitatively. But first we will have to build the necessary infrastructures.

Also, Morocco's adoption of an exclusive 200-mile economic zone has given the State considerable fishing resources that must be managed rationally and we are now working on new legislation that will regulate fishing to reflect the operating levels of stocks. The current revision of the Maritime Code is also part of this work.

[Question] Mr Minister, many feel that the country has not derived adequate benefits from the investments made in the deep-sea fishing sectors over the past 10 years or so. Have these investments been profitable?

[Answer] It is true that most ocean-fisheries investments were devoted to the deep-sea fishing sector. But this is a new sector. Thanks to the incentives provided by the 1973 Maritime Investment Code, boat-owners were able to attempt deep-sea fishing although they did not have any previous experience of it.

In 1973, we did not have a single deep-sea fishing boat. We now have 180 and the Ministry is receiving new applications daily.



In other words, in spite of some initial difficulties, the experiment has been a success. And we can say that we now have a regular deep-sea fishing fleet.

As far as profitability is concerned, I believe we should distinguish between the profitability of enterprises, which at present is satisfactory, and the economic and social profitability of the development of this sector with respect to the country's economy.

In this respect, it is true that until now the only impact has been the repatriation of foreign currency by deep-sea fishing boat owners.

The amounts repatriated are increasing; they now amount to close to 340 million dirhams, compared with nearly 90 million dirhams in 1980.

If the contribution of the deep-sea fishing sector is modest, it is due to several reasons, especially:

- the sector is still dependent on foreign ports for its operations;
- the sophistication of deep-sea fishing boats requires a qualified labor force which is not often available in Morocco;
- boat-owners lacked experience, especially when they started deep-sea fishing, etc.;

In spite of all that, deep-sea fishing is making a real, although still inadequate contribution. It is felt at three levels:

- foreign currency repatriation: as years go by, there is a progressive improvement;
- the fisheries proper: Morocco is now represented in a subsector with prospects for the future, because of the high commercial value of the product;
- the human factor: we can say that this experiment, which started less than 10 years ago, has now given us a regular deep-sea fishing fleet.

[Question] Mr Minister, how do you plan to increase the benefits derived from deep-sea fishing?

[Answer] A fundamental point in our strategy to develop the ocean fisheries sector is the transfer of deep-sea fishing operations to Moroccan ports.

To achieve this, two ports--Agadir and Tan-Tan--have been selected and plans have already been made to expand them. The transfer process is also scheduled to start in 1984, as two wharves, one 200 m and the other 175 m long, will become operational in Agadir before the end of the year.

Obviously, port infrastructures are the decisive factor, but not the only one. Ancillary facilities should of course follow. By that, I mean two types of structures:

- land facilities such as processing units, cold stores, dockyards. Generally, speaking, enterprises involved in fishing-related operations;

- administrative facilities at the port itself to simplify procedures and prevent any abnormally long immobilization of boats.

[Question] Mr Minister, obviously, it would be a good thing if Moroccans were to consume more fish. But this is essentially a problem of preservation, i.e. of cold storage, and a question of price. What are your plans in this respect?

[Answer] Increasing fish consumption in the Kingdom is a constant concern of the policy of the Ministry of Ocean Fisheries and Merchant Marine.

Fish is destined to play an increasing part in the country's food supply, especially considering that it contains as much protein as meat.

However, it is fragile and perishable; if its consumption is to increase, refrigeration must be provided at all stages of production, processing and marketing. In other words, what we need are cold stores, refrigerated trucks and storage warehouses.

At the same time, access to the fish trade should be regulated to prevent certain speculations that result in artificial price increases.

Indeed, although fish prices will fluctuate because of the seasonal character of fishing, fish prices at unloading remain reasonable as a whole. As an example, the average 1983 price for sardine was 0.33 dirham per kilo at the port of Agadir and 1.80 at the port of Casablanca. As far as white fish is concerned, for which there is a great demand both in Morocco and abroad, the average price for bass [loup] was around 16.10 dirham per kilo at Agadir and 24.82 at Casablanca, and the price for whiting was respectively 13.44 and 10.06 dirhams per kilo.

In addition, during 1983 we launched a pilot operation for the consumption of frozen fish, and it was very successful.

The year 1984 will be devoted to the promotion of domestic fish consumption.

In this respect, we intend to increase progressively the amounts of frozen fish available, especially when fishing is slowing down, as this is a seasonal activity.

Deep-sea fishing boat owners must associate themselves to this marketing policy and permanently contribute to supply frozen fish to the local market.

Until they can unload all of their production in Moroccan ports, 5 percent of their catches should be regularly delivered to supply the domestic market. That will make it possible to stabilize local market supplies and keep prices at reasonable levels.

[Question] According to professional circles, Morocco needs six large freezer-trawlers to ensure normal supplies to its canneries. Mr Minister, would you say that this is a valid estimate?

[Answer] The problem of supplying canneries is not exclusively related to the failure of the traditional fishing fleet. Certainly, the latter is still inadequate in some respects; in particular, it lacks means to detect fish shoals and it lacks adequate storage facilities, but if we consider the use made of sardine catches, which vary between 200,000 and 250,000 tons per year, we note that hardly one third is bought by the canning industries.

The main outlet for sardines is for fish meal, and this does not enable the boat owner to make a profit on his catch, as the price of guano hardly ever exceeds 24 centimes per kilo, compared with 1.09 dirhams for fish delivered to canneries.

Therefore, from a purely quantitative point of view, it is not a question of production and consequently it is not a question of increasing the number of boats. If supplies are irregular, it is mainly due to the lack of cold storage that would make it possible to preserve the surplus of good catches to use during the off-season.

Therefore, boat owners and cannery owners should now collaborate more closely, all the more so as their respective interests could not fail to converge in looking for new markets.

The Ministry of Ocean Fisheries and Merchant Marine is busy improving their interprofessional relations, just as it contributes to the efforts expended concurrently by other departments to open new markets.

At any rate, under the new law on incentives to maritime investments, modernization bonuses were introduced to improve the quantity and the quality of catches. At the same time, the Ministry of Ocean Fisheries and Merchant Marine is encouraging the development of refrigeration at all stages of fish production and marketing, its goal being both to regulate the supply and to preserve the quality of the product.

[Question] Mr Minister, you just paid a visit to Spain and the joint communique stresses that the two parties have agreed to extend their cooperation. Is it possible to put figures on this cooperation: number of Spanish boats allowed to fish in Moroccan waters; main regulations adopted; catch volumes, etc.? To what extent will these figures increase?

[Answer] What is involved is not an increase, but a decrease. The agreement we have signed with our Spanish friends essentially includes the following:

- a 40-percent reduction of Spanish fishing boat catches over a 4-year period;
- a revision of the provisions concerning fishing methods and fishing zones, in order both to safeguard certain stocks and to hinder our coast fishermen as little as possible;
- a progressive increase in the fees paid, to reach 70 percent when the agreement expires;

- financial cooperation providing for a credit of 400 million U.S. dollars to be used for the purchase of Spanish goods and services, and a credit of 150 million U.S. dollars to finance infrastructures.

Among other objects, my visit to Spain was intended to take stock of the implementation of the fishing agreement and to get acquainted with the technological progress achieved by Spain in the maritime sector, so as to make judicious use of the financial credits I just mentioned.

I took advantage of this opportunity to review the expansion potential of certain domains, especially maritime transport.

[Question] Mr Minister, several seminars were organized recently with friendly foreign countries. What does Morocco expect from this cooperation?

[Answer] As a traditionally open country, Morocco is not aiming at an autarkic development of all maritime activities, but it remains amenable to any form of bilateral or multilateral cooperation based on the identification of the convergent interests of each of the partners in the context of mutually profitable relations.

Our country must perfect its technology and acquire new technologies; it must acquire new markets on which to sell seafood products under all forms, and it must also find sources of financing. It is in the context of this policy that we apprehend the cooperation with friendly countries and that we intensify contacts through the organization of such seminars.

These contacts are both official and private; the former prepare the way for an appropriate legal and economic framework, the latter create or develop bilateral exchange currents and encourage partnerships between businessmen of both countries.

Our role, therefore, is to organize and encourage in order to catalyze private initiatives. Therefore, private promoters must seize the investment opportunities that cannot fail to present themselves at these seminars or when cooperation agreements are signed.

[Boxed Insert]

Mr Bensalem Smili was born in Fes in 1921; he studied general mathematics at the My Idriss College in Fes, then at the Lyons Central School of Arts and Manufactures, in France.

A prominent nationalist, he was appointed head of administrative services at the Ministry of Trade immediately after independence, and then became general secretary of the Ministry of National Defense.

From 1959 to 1981, Mr Smili held several positions in various public sectors. He was twice at the head of the Directorate of Customs and Indirect Taxation, from 1959 to 1961. He also headed COMANAV [expansion unknown] for a time.

In November 1981, His Majesty King Hassan II appointed him minister of ocean fisheries and merchant marine in Mr Maati Bouabid's cabinet.

GREATER ARAB MAGHREB WOULD PROVIDE UNITED FRONT

Need for Greater Maghreb

Algiers REVOLUTION AFRICAINE in French No 1048, 23-29 Mar 84 pp 20-21, 25, 33-34

[Article by Zoubir Souissi: "Tunisia: The Maghrebian Aspiration"]

[Text] Tunis, March--The merchant sized us up maliciously, then, having understood where we were from, asked: "Will the Algerians be coming soon?"

That question was put to us several times throughout our peregrinations in the labyrinth of the Tunis souks. Behind the stalls collapsing under mountains of goods, coppersmiths, hosiers, shoemakers, and craftsmen of all kinds display their products to a seasoned and somewhat distrustful local clientele. But the souks are not totally what they once were. The effect of the economic crisis that has now hit the country or perhaps simply a decision that is part of the system of organizing transactions, price tags have now made their appearance on shop displays. Nevertheless, the customer can always engage in the one great pleasure the souks still offer: bargaining.

"Despite the uniform prices, we are forced to give small discounts to attract customers," one merchant told us. "In order to sell, I have to offer prices that are lower, although not too much lower, than those set by the government."

In the streets near Avenue Bourguiba, where all of Tunis can be found, the big stores offer sales, but prices are high. And yet, when one observes automobile traffic in the Tunisian capital and the traffic jams worthy of our Avenue de l'Armee de Liberation Nationale, one has trouble believing that the economic crisis that started in other lands has affected this receptive country. However, it is a very real crisis, affecting both the country's economy and the young people, who have difficulty finding jobs. According to official statistics, the number of unemployed persons is about 250,000 (between 10 and 15 percent of the active population).

"This crisis that we did not want has hindered our development efforts," we were told by several Tunisian officials. In fact, as informed by Tunisian Minister of Economy Rachid Sfar, the annual installment on the foreign debt went up 25 percent without any new loans being contracted by the country. The reason is obviously the increase in the American dollar.

In the poorer districts, a whole sector of hard-working low-income people scurries about to earn the daily bread. In these humble circles, one's welcome is always warm and courteous. Moreover, it is the same warmth and courtesy that one finds elsewhere. Tunisians are in general pleasant and polite.

#### What Tourism?

In Sousse, quite rightly named the pearl of the Sahara, it is the off season: no tourists or very few. A few little groups are obviously enjoying their paid vacation, easy to recognize by the frugality of their meals and their bottles of wine so cautiously wrapped in napkins. Times are hard, even for the "big tourists." The less-well-off among them take advantage of the lower prices of the off season to enjoy the meager rays of sun that this year's winter begrudgingly bestows. But despite the low prices and the advertising campaign, tourist establishments dotting the Sahel are not filled. Along with tourism, related activities are also in a slump.

In the hinterland, Ksar Hellal, to be precise -- a highly historic place because it was there, 50 years ago, that President Habib Bourguiba burned his bridges with the old Destourian Party and took the helm of the Tunisian nationalist movement to wage the struggle that 22 years later would lead to the country's independence -- the effects of tourism are not visible. Here we are in the middle of textile country. "We have some 50 spinning mills," we were told by the local leader of the Youth Organization, "one of national scale. Here, everyone is in some way connected with textile activities. The trade is handed down from father to son, although nowadays, young people, many of whom go on to high school and the university, are trying to break with this kind of natural hobble and turning to more modern professions more in keeping with their level of education."

Another peculiarity of the little village of 30,000 inhabitants is its cultural activities. There are countless folk troupes, drama and music groups and others. In total contrast with the ostentation of Sousse, some 20 kilometers away, Ksar Hellal deliberately turns its back on the factitious and the vulgar. In the cafes, people play cards and smoke the hookah that here is called the *chicha*. Women wear the *malahfa* and have their heads covered with a kind of haik of brown sackcloth. The contrast between villagers and their Sousse neighbors is striking. The people are not of the commercial bent and good-heartedly invite one to enjoy their Turkish coffee or mint tea. The little spot is the twin city of Constantine and exchanges of delegations of young people and officials regularly take place.

In Hammamet and Nabeul, one returns to tourist reality. Many signs tell visitors that English, German or Italian is spoken. It is a kind of citadel serving as a souk for Mammamet. Here one finds a great range of handicrafts highly prized by tourists. The paradise of tourism, Tunisia has developed makeup sectors like handicrafts or folklore enormously. An illustration was given to us by Nabeul, whose crafts and especially pottery are very appreciated. But here, as in Sousse, one sees a kind of moodiness. Signs of the approaching tourist season are not quite satisfactory. Again, it is the crisis that

causes potential tourists to stay home. Here, as in Tunis, they ask us the eternal question about the arrival of the Algerians.

"In the final analysis, one young Tunisian executive told us, "the only tourist trend that is truly profitable for handicrafts and the small local industries is that which brings our Algerian brothers. Foreign tourists do not contribute much to small merchants and artisans. In general, they pay an agency in their country and come here to lie on the beaches or shut themselves up in their palaces. The only thing they buy is knick-knacks, nothing expensive. This is not a rule, but in general, that is what it amounts to."

#### Common Ideal

For all the little merchants and artisans that we met during our stay, the Algerians and their insatiable appetite for buying in the souks are the best customers. But it is not only their trading spirit that makes the Algerians welcome. Since the historic treaty of brotherhood and harmony and the prospects for the Maghreb it entails, our Tunisian brothers have been sincerely satisfied with the rapprochement between our two peoples. Everywhere we went, in this brother country, we heard the same vibrant plea for the development of relations between our two countries. It is normal for us to come more closely together, we were told, because so many ties of race, religion, language, culture and civilization unite us.

Whether on the side of the officials, young people or not-so-young, construction of the Arab Maghreb is a historic necessity. The dream must become a reality, we were also told.

"What a formidable entity it would be!" we were told with some passion by a young maitre d'hotel from the Algerian-Tunisian border region. "Our peoples are a formidable human potential to which we must add the natural resources, vast areas, variety of the climate and the countryside." For the time being, our informant is a fervent viewer of Algerian television. "Every time I go home to my parents in Kef," he tells us, "I spend hours and hours in front of the set. If only in that way, the countries of the Maghreb should have exchanges. We would thus have several programs without having to make burdensome expenditures."

Emphasis and passion are not the sole province of our young friend. During meetings of the delegations of the FLN party headed by Mohamed Cherif Messaadia and PSD [Destourian Socialist Party] members, we heard the boldest and most original suggestions. One member proposed that work be begun immediately on training the coming generations so they will think, express themselves and act Maghrebian. Another preached the standardization of school programs at all levels. There are also those for a Maghrebian common market, without customs restrictions. Those who would vote for a Maghrebian parliament and send their children to a Maghrebian university and those asking for the creation of Maghrebian radio and television, a Maghrebian press agency and televised news programs devoted to our countries. In short, the list of suggestions is not exhaustive. Each individual imagines what the Maghrebian entity will be or should be. For everyone, it is a sacred mission bestowed on our



generation and that was seriously undertaken by the historic treaty of brotherhood and harmony signed by presidents Chadli Bendjedid and Habib Bourguiba.

On a chilly morning, we arrived in Bizerte, the last of the Tunisian cities to free itself from the colonial yoke, making enormous sacrifices to do so. The heroic battle waged by its sons is taught to all Tunisian children so they will be imbued with the spirit of sacrifice of their elders. But for us Algerians, Bizerte has another meaning. It was here that several hundred of our fellow countrymen (descendents of the comrades of Emir Abdelkader) came to live after the invasion of our country by the colonial hordes. They occupy a whole district. Called "El Gharbinne" (the people of the West), they are perfectly integrated into local life. We went there and talked with one of them, an old man who, despite his age, gave an impression of strength and peace. Ami Amar was born here and is in trade. His elders went back home to live or continue their studies. He is not thinking of it for the time being because there are the little ones and also because his house is here. His family is in Greater Kabylia and he has visited several times.

"For me," he told us, "living here or there is the same thing. My children wanted to know the country of their ancestors. They went there and ended up living there. I have a son who is a doctor in Algiers, another studying medicine and a third is a petroleum engineer at Hassi-Messaoud. The little ones are still in school here."

Ami Amar derives a certain pride from the success of his elders and despite the separation, he is content to know they have done well. And after all, as he says, they are only an hour away by plane. Concerning the rapprochement of our countries and the construction of the Greater Maghreb, Ami Amar thinks that things are coming about naturally:

"The treaty signed by our President Chadli and President Bourguiba is, after all, a natural act between brothers and neighbors. When our ancestors fled the colonial repression, they were able to come and live here without any problem. The same was true at the time of our liberation struggle. Now that we are all free, we can join our efforts to build our respective countries better."

#### Future

The Hilton Hotel bar in the Tunis heights where the fashionable El Menzah district is found is the favorite gathering place of wealthy Tunisian young people. Boys and girls come here to find a little intimacy and show off the latest fashions bought in Europe. They are somewhat carefree, but when one approaches them and talks with them, one does not have the impression that they are divorced from Tunisian reality. Slim and Nawal kindly agreed to chat with us. He is a student, while she works for an insurance company. Cultivated, well-informed, they are very representative of the youth that flowered following independence. It was mainly Nawal who argued. In talking with her, one sees that the professions of faith for the liberation of the woman in Tunisia have not remained a dead letter. She questions everything: the system, machismo, social obstacles. Slim agrees, sometimes in spite of himself. For



him, a future engineer, the future means rapprochement between the peoples of the Maghreb.

"As you can see, we have tried to maintain relations of friendship, of sincere and unselfish cooperation with Westerners, but they did not respond. For the people of the North, we are subhuman, good to serve them, serve their economies and make our sun available to them. They sent us their most incompetent men, sold us their most expensive and worst machinery and today, they are spreading their economic crisis here. It is time for our countries to grow up."

"They are not?"

"Yes, but only recently."

"You are too hard on them."

"No, that is the truth. When I see what is going on in some oil-producing countries, I am sick. With their mountains of money, they have acquired development built on nothingness, without thinking of the post-oil period. In this respect, I greatly admire what has been done by Algeria, which I visited twice. That is why I sincerely believe that the future belongs to us, provided we know how to organize and prepare for it."

"What do you think of the treaty of brotherhood and harmony signed between our two countries?"

"It is an excellent thing, but that is but the start. We must develop trade, open our borders, buy Tunisian and Algerian and, in long-range terms, even think of uniting."

For once, Nawal did not argue; she was in complete agreement. A former emigree to Le Nord in France, she was raised in a Maghrebian milieu.

"You know, Tunisia, Algerian or Moroccan, we are the same people and since we speak the same language, we have the same customs and the same religion. Coming together means first of all helping one another. In Tunisia, we are suffering from unemployment and the economic crisis. By working together, we could pool our abilities and potential."

All the foregoing gives one the material for a precise opinion on the formidable hope aroused by construction of the Greater Arab Maghreb. The experience of trade and cooperation with the industrialized countries has shown, sometimes bitterly, that international transactions were not marked by the seal of trust. As Messaadia said in the debate with PSD members, for the wealthy countries, our nations are but markets for their products and laboratories for their equipment. To this one must add the enormous undertaking of looting our resources. All this is quite obviously aimed at the perpetuation of a world economic order once based on military aggression and domination and now on mastery of technology and world markets. The experience provided by the current economic crisis is very significant. Falling back, they practice

fierce protectionism, while they are the alleged champions of the market economy and free trade. Algeria and Tunisia have understood the message perfectly. Expanded cooperation, increased trade, the completion of common projects are the first steps toward construction of the Maghreb. This will be the best way for them to assert themselves in the international community.

"The times we are living through are those of great entities," we were told by Beji Caid Essebsi, Tunisian minister of foreign affairs. It is in fact the path chosen by those who now dominate the world economy. Not content to control technology and the sources of financing, they have gathered together in associations of the EEC type to perpetuate their exorbitant privileges. And yet, they are not of the same race, do not speak the same languages, do not practice the same religion and their cultures are sometimes diametrically opposed. Strangely enough, the construction of the Greater Arab Maghreb does not seem to suit them, perhaps because it symbolizes our awareness.

#### Destourian Socialist Party Leader Interviewed

Algiers REVOLUTION AFRICAINE in French No 1048, 23-29 Mar 84 pp 22-24

[Interview with Mongi Kooli, director of the Destourian Socialist Party (PSD); date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] The Destourian Socialist Party has just commemorated its 50th anniversary. It is obvious that such a slice of history cannot be traced in an interview. Mr Director, can you tell us what lessons you have learned from this period and what prospects you see for the period ahead?

[Answer] On 2 March 1984, the Destourian Socialist Party commemorated its 50th anniversary, marked by major militant actions and spectacular victories. The second 50 years, upon which we are now embarking, will be characterized by the same spirit and will in no case cast a shadow on the first 50.

The PSD liberated Tunisia from the colonial yoke and build the state on stable, modern foundations. It involved the Tunisian people in a policy of total development based on effective planning and with a truly progressive view of improving the level of Tunisians in all fields and achieving social justice and prosperity for all.

In that sense, we have taken giant steps through the spreading of education, the liberation of women, social security, improvements in the standard of living and housing and the distribution of wealth over the poorest groups through programs of rural development and family production.

There can be no doubt that this approach, taken for the past half century by the PSD, is a source of lessons and faith in the future capable of maintaining our party in the vanguard of militancy in our country and enabling it to fulfill its role as a guide for our people for their emancipation and social progress.

In my opinion, the best result within this context resides in the fact that all historic wagers have been won by the PSD. The spectacular successes in the development enterprise and the great accomplishments we have recorded were obtained thanks to the clear-sighted policy of Bourguiba, a policy based on total confidence between the Commander in Chief and the Tunisian people in all sectors. Thanks to this militant method set forth by President Bourguiba, an authentically revolutionary method, whose essential foundations are permanent openness to the masses and their support through awareness, conviction, confidence, their participation in controlling their destiny and finally, cooperation with them on the basis of a sincere, honest dialogue.

The PSD is convinced that this trust and this method represent an inestimable asset and believes that they have enabled it to acquire a true popular base that is at the outset its constant concern. It also preaches frank and sincere openness vis-a-vis the coming generations. Likewise, our party concentrates its action on the preservation of that inestimable asset which youth is, for it is the guarantee of continuity and renewal of the message in an authentically human view that rejects violence in all forms, gives priority to wisdom over feeling and acts in terms of the interests of the nation and its citizens.

Our action is aimed at consolidating the foundations of the methodology of our party, which are at the root of the progress recorded by Tunisian society in the political, economic, social and cultural domains. On the organic level, our concerns have to do with the consolidation of the rank-and-file party structures and the establishment within them of democratic debate resulting in greater vigor, better training of the masses and the continuing presence of the party in society so that it may be loyal to its vocation, to wit, the party of the Tunisian people.

[Question] The commemoration of the 50th anniversary was an opportunity for the strengthening of the bonds of brotherhood and cooperation between the FLN Party and the PSD. What prospects does it open up?

[Answer] The bonds of brotherhood and cooperation between the Destourian Socialist Party and the National Liberation Front Party are actually very solid, close ties woven in the liberating fight waged by the two brother countries. There is nothing odd about that. The National Liberation Front Party has been and is still the conscience of the Algerian people. The Destourian Socialist Party has been and remains the conscience of the Tunisian people.

The two peoples are brother peoples whose geography has made it possible to establish close bonds since ancient times. These ties are the unity of race, religion, language, history and culture. Furthermore, they were united in the recent past by the same colonial calvary, which is what led them to undertake a solidary fight for their liberation. Today, they are united around their common destiny, their aspirations and complementary interests.

The Destourian Socialist Party and the brother party of the National Liberation Front, starting from that common will and in keeping with the enlightened orientations of presidents Habib Bourguiba and Chadli Bendjedid, who preach

the creation of a serene climate and mutual confidence between the two peoples, are determined to work in the spirit of the treaty of brotherhood, harmony and good-neighborliness concluded by the two governments and are determined to base all their efforts on continuing concertation and fruitful cooperation.

In my opinion, the meetings and intense talks that have taken place between officials of both parties on the occasion of the official and people's festivities of the 50th anniversary of the PSD will have a profound and positive effect on their fraternal relations. Likewise, they will permit a new thrust toward bilateral cooperation. The protocol of agreement that resulted from the political talks expresses this will for brotherly solidarity, the sincere determination to carry on their joint action for continuation of the dialogue and concertation and the exchange of experiences and the sound and objective vision of the concept of unity, a vision that includes respect for the freedom, dignity and independence of both peoples.

Within this framework, the range of actions to take is as rich as it is varied. The protocol signed between our two parties defines its main lines in all fields.

[Question] Can one believe that the positive results of the political talks that you have just mentioned will give priority to action over words? How do you expect to express action specifically?

[Answer] The political talks between the FLN delegation and that of the PSD were truly decisive. They were characterized by frankness and a constructive spirit and effectively led to the positive results that one can see in reading the joint communique and the protocol of agreement arising out of this dialogue that I would label, without any exaggeration on my part, as historic.

To reinforce what I have already said, I would add that this concertation took place between two groups firmly determined to expand and further their ties of brotherhood and solidarity. That is what means that the results of the talks are a concrete contribution to construction of the Greater Arab Maghreb. On both sides, we emphasized the need to continue the dialogue and the continuous meetings between our mass, social and cultural organizations in order to bring them closer together and institute coordination and complementary action.

[Question] Mr Director, there remain obstacles hindering construction of the Greater Arab Maghreb, that common dream of all peoples in the region. In what way, in your opinion, can one strike down those obstacles and thus permit the materialization of the aspiration of all of us?

[Answer] Construction of the Greater Maghreb is in fact a dream and aspiration dear to the peoples of our region as far as one can go back in time. There can be no doubt that for us all, it constitutes the supreme aspiration, especially during these times marked by the problems of development, reducing the distances between countries and the tendency to go beyond borders. This is all the more valid for brother countries like those of the Arab Maghreb which nothing separates but which everything brings together. Moreover, in the world today, cooperation is a vital necessity.

We believe that our countries will succeed only if they come together as a united, complementary entity that will carry weight in this world in which there is room only for powerful ensembles. We also believe that only the Arab Maghreb will enable us to impose our presence within these entities. Finally, we believe that construction of the Greater Maghreb will mean an important step in the direction of unity of the Arab nation. From the time we share that faith in a common future, it is up to all of us to raise the Maghrebian concept over any consideration and believe that our generation, which experienced the evils of colonialism and whose elements waged shoulder to shoulder the liberating fight through sacrifice, suffering and exile, is the most qualified to establish the foundations of the Arab Maghreb. To fulfill that sacred mission, it must necessarily work to lift the restrictions impeding fulfillment of that aspiration.

I am convinced that the obstacles standing in the way of the edification of the Greater Arab Maghreb, among them the situation in the Western Sahara, are only circumstantial and will in no way destroy our will to offer our good services to respond to this aspiration of our peoples and ensure our nations peace and security. It is up to our parties to assume responsibility for working for similar views between the parties concerned and eliminate factors of blockage, this on the basis of brotherly dialogue and in the direction of mutual understanding.

#### Family Planning

Algiers REVOLUTION AFRICAINE in French No 1048, 23-29 Mar 84 pp 26-27

[Text] Among the sources of pride for Tunisians are the liberation of Tunisian women and family planning. They will tell you and repeat that women in Tunisia have acquired all their rights and are said to be, according to the natives, if not the most emancipated, then at least among the most emancipated in the Arab world. And what about family planning? How was it instituted, received, developed, and what are its results? In order to learn this, we went to the headquarters of the Family Planning Office, where we were received with extreme courtesy. There we were told that the experiment began in May 1964. Actually, as our interlocutors like to point out, family planning is part of the emancipation of the woman and that of Tunisian society in general.

Following its independence, Tunisia was a small, poor country with few resources. Its officials, led by President Bourguiba, rapidly turned to the major social problems, particularly education and health. Its efforts in the field of education led to a net decline in illiteracy. Some 1.5 million young Tunisians attend schools and training institutes at all levels, out of a total estimated population of 6 million. This assuredly is a very good score, placing Tunisia among the countries on the "hit parade" of education.

Along with education, the action of the Tunisian Government dealt with improving the population's sanitary conditions. Infant mortality which was 40 per 1,000 following independence, was reduced to 6.8 per 1,000. Here also, the performance is appreciable. And yet, this effort in the field of health, while reducing infant mortality, risked posing a problem of another type for the

country: uncontrolled population growth, risking to wipe out development action. Tunisia is a small country, let us not forget it. Both with respect to its area and resources, its possibilities are limited. As elsewhere, improving health conditions was an indispensable and essential task and the most suitable solutions had to be found.

In a speech delivered in December 1962, President Bourguiba explained to Tunisians the need for birth control, pointing out the dangers that might result from a population explosion and preaching a social balance. A year and a half later, family planning got underway with pilot experiments. But it was in 1966 that family planning began to be applied. It would continue in a mediocre way until 1973. Popular response was rather lukewarm. The potential candidates for family planning were reluctant. Their education and traditions told them not to work against nature.

## 2.2 Children Per Family

In 1973, family planning was given an institutional framework, an office especially entrusted with the task. But it was not alone. Family planning is also the business of the Union of Tunisian Women, the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of Health and the organizations of the Destourian Socialist Party. From its very creation, the office has been organized. It set up 20 regional centers in the 20 governorates of the country and acted along two lines: information and education and health itself, particularly the spacing of children and emergency cases.

Alongside these structures (regional centers, plus two pilot clinics), branch units have been set up to cover 900 health clinics. At the present time, 61 already exist, each made up of an infirmary, midwife and social welfare worker. Beginning in 1983, nine mobile clinics provided the whole range of services. Along with its original function, the Tunisian Family Planning Office has developed the training of specialists and scientific research. A major training center offers instruction in the entire range of specializations and brings students (doctors) from the four corners of the Third World. The center enables students to learn the most advanced technique of tubal ligation that can be performed without pain in a record time of five minutes.

Obviously, in dealing with such a delicate subject, it is information provided to the public that makes it possible to fight taboos, prejudice and myths. Tunisians have based their action on radio and occasional television broadcasts and articles in the press. However, in this precise case, it is still direct information that seems to be the most effective means. It is provided through home visits or consultations at clinics.

All this action has led to results which, although they are not spectacular, are nevertheless appreciable. The rate of population growth, which was over 3 percent immediately after independence, has been reduced to 2.3 percent in 1983, a birth rate of 30 per 1,000 compared with 40 per 1,000. In 1981, there were 225,000 births, 221,000 in 1982 and between 206,000 and 210,000 in 1985 [sic], while there were 50,000 deaths. Tunisians are not completely satisfied with this performance, deeming that in order to have normal

development of society and a good social balance, births should not exceed 170,000 a year. By way of comparison, Switzerland, which has nearly the same number of inhabitants, registered 60,000 births and 49,000 deaths.

At the present time, the average family in Tunisia has 5 children (compared with 7 following independence). As family planning officials like to point out, the goal has not yet been achieved, for it has been set at 2.2 children per family.

In such a difficult undertaking, it was necessary to convince a not altogether favorable audience. On the religious level, meetings between family planning officials and the imams made it possible to work out a kind of modus vivendi. Furthermore, action had to be taken against false rumors and disinformation. For this purpose, seasoned field workers and experienced practitioners were needed. The slightest accident, the slightest wrong note and the program might be affected. Action is beginning to succeed in the cities, where improvements in living conditions and progress in education have made family planning mechanisms accessible. For the future, family planning officials are counting on access to knowledge for all Tunisians.

#### Economics Minister Interviewed

Algiers REVOLUTION AFRICAINE in French No 1048, 23-29 Mar 84 pp 28-32

[Interview with Rachid Sfar, minister of economy; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] The treaty of brotherhood and harmony signed by presidents Chadli Bendjedid and Habib Bourguiba opened up vast prospects for cooperation between our two countries, particularly economic cooperation, which is one of the pillars of construction of the Arab Maghreb. Mr Minister, can you give us a brief summary of the dynamics set in motion by the treaty and the possibilities of rapprochement it has created?

[Answer] Most assuredly, this is a vast question to which it is somewhat difficult to give a complete and precise response. I shall try to give you the main lines. The treaty of brotherhood and harmony signed by the two countries defined guidelines that have enabled the two governments to begin to carry out the substance of the treaty. One of the essential aspects of this implementation began with the launching of joint industrial projects. In the 1960's, we dreamed of moving on to concrete action. We held long meetings, concluded numerous accords in order to launch such projects, but without any great results, I must stress. As you know, it took only a few months for the two governments to agree on these projects, their sites, means of financing and the marketing of their production. This provides proof of the will of the two governments to implement the objectives of the treaty and its many extensions.

Regarding commercial trade, we observe the same determination on the part of both countries to realize that which was another dream expressed by the different commissions that met during the 1960's, to wit, deciding on the principle of privileged commercial trade and the priority to be given to products



from the two countries. Today, the dream has become a reality following the historic declaration of our two presidents and we have come to the phase of execution. We have agreed on the level of the two governments and chosen a nomenclature determining the Tunisian and Algerian products. We have decided, as a political decision, to go beyond questions of price, customs tariffs, and to provide information to the national enterprises of both countries in order to turn a profit from the surplus products from either country based on their needs.

We have begun using our current production capacities. We considered the available surpluses of each and decided to make them available to each other, obviously based on need. I can therefore tell you that everything is proceeding normally. Instructions have been provided even for the tiniest and most secondary aspects. To take a precise example, I would cite the case of tomato paste. We have a surplus and we know that that product is somewhat scarce in Algeria. There have been proposals from foreign countries, countries which, let us say in passing, that look askance at the Algerian-Tunisian treaty and our joint determination to carry it out in action. Those countries have proposed more competitive prices, but I have the pleasure of telling you that we agreed, Algerians and Tunisians, to support the price gap together and, let us say, divided the pie in two. We reached an agreement, despite the action of certain exporters who wanted to halt our progress forward. But we stood firm and our economic operators are perfectly aware of the nature of the challenge and of the fact that there is nothing to be gained from these circumstantial decline, whose obvious purpose is to bend our will for cooperation and trade which, I believe, will really take off in 1984. The continuing contact between us and the coordination of our action enable us, on the contrary, to increase the volume of our trade to greater levels than in the past.

I would add that this cooperation and trade are not confined to the strictly economic domains. Regarding education, contacts permit us to glimpse extremely ambitious objectives. Standardization of programs of primary, secondary and higher education will enable the young Maghrebians to continue the first steps taken with more intensity than was once the case. But while our accomplishments are still average, I can tell you that they are now unavoidable and not open to challenge because they constitute a solid basis and the surest path enabling us to build the Arab Maghreb as a citadel that will withstand the storm. Stone by stone, we shall move forward until we achieve our objectives: a harmonious, united Maghrebian society and a harmonious, complementary Maghrebian economy that will guarantee the aspirations of the young Maghrebians.

[Question] Mr Minister, one factor largely conditions cooperation and trade between our countries: economic complementariness. Can one consider the economies of our countries as complementary and in what proportion?

[Answer] During the early years of independence, we were told that our production competed rather than being complementary. We heard that refrain, although at the time, while some of our products did compete with one another, our needs could generate complementary projects. Consequently, it was based on our essential needs for food, clothing, housing, health, recreation and



culture and therefore, based on needs that change and improve as our standard of living improves, based on our needs for more suitable jobs in keeping with the training and types of training that we give to our young people, based on this needs approach, it was easy to conceive a complementary economy and above all, complementary projects. It is mainly in the agricultural and industrial fields that the possibilities of complementing one another are most apparent. Naturally, it is completely legitimate that with respect to projects, whether small, medium or large, on a scale with a country or region, each country should set up that type of industry, develop its agriculture in the field of essential production. It is therefore legitimate to promote a national agricultural and industrial development.

But technology and profitability dictate the conception of joint projects that cannot be competitive and that can only achieve the desired technological level if two or more countries are involved. That is where true industrial or agricultural complementariness appear, through the specialization of each region in a given crop or type of production. Take agriculture, for example, and you can easily observe the complementariness that could exist in the Maghreb with respect to olive oil or citrus fruits. On the industrial level and based on projects already launched in our different countries, one can identify the complementary factor that would make it possible to improve the situation of existing enterprises. Here I am thinking of the rate of integration of these industries and their competitiveness. Finally, I would add the new industries that so far we could not set up or would not dare to set up and that would be within our reach if we did it jointly. I would cite the example of white cement. We have imported the product since independence and yet it is important for the development of housing. It is true that construction of such a joint production unit for white cement will yield a better possibility for unity, in terms of the scale of the undertaking and competitiveness. It will be a unit having normal dimensions compared with what is done on the international level.

In other words, we had been limited to a false view of the competitive economy when it would have sufficed to use an evolutive approach based on the needs of our respective societies in order to build an integrated economy together.

[Question] Portugal and Spain's entry into the Common Market poses a threat to our trade with the EEC. How should the Maghreb countries conduct their dialogue with their European partners in this precise field?

[Answer] That is a very pertinent question insofar as the future looks somewhat gloomy, based on the economic crisis in the world, a crisis that is, in my opinion, structural in nature. After being affected themselves, the industrialized countries are now transferring the crisis more and more, deliberately or unwittingly, to the Third World countries. That is why we must step up our cooperation. It is therefore not merely a matter of emotion, conscience or common blood that flowed to defend common freedoms that causes us to unite and cooperate. It is the evolution of the world situation and the economic crisis that leads us and must rationally lead us to conceive our cooperation because it will enable us to face both current and future difficulties

created by expansion of the EEC to include Spain and Portugal. It is trite to point out that Spanish industrial products, with their competitiveness, will follow their citrus fruits in easily penetrating the European Common Market, once it has been expanded to that great country, that great agricultural and industrial producer which Spain is. I must also tell you that without waiting for that expansion, we are already experiencing difficulties and they will be even greater with it. This can only strengthen our desire to cooperate, to identify currents of trade to be transformed into structural currents and ensuring that, by building an integrated Maghrebian economy, we shall be a more credible partner for the EEC, more credible for negotiations, but also through the effort we shall make ourselves to solve our own difficulties. These European partners will view this rapprochement favorably in medium-range terms, even if in the immediate future, certain entrepreneurs in those countries do not like Maghrebian cooperation. It is certain that for thinking people, reasonable people who believe in cooperation in the Mediterranean basin, construction of a strong economic Maghreb, of a Maghrebian common market, is in the interest of the entire region. That is how we must view the matter and set about convincing our other partners. We often say that we are not building the Maghreb against anyone and it is legitimate for us to try to find solutions to our problems. The more we try within our mutual borders to try to find such solutions, the more we shall be esteemed by others as more valid partners for negotiating on a good footing, if I may use that expression, with others. Whether it be a question of the reorganization of the automobile industry, which we want to develop in our respective countries, or whether it be a question of the chemical and petrochemical industries, I believe that the industrial complementariness of the Maghrebian countries can only be in the interest of our peoples and can only lead to the establishment valid organizations in order to be partners in the fullest sense of the term, with similar structures of the European community.

[Question] Mr Minister, you spoke of the Maghrebian common market. When will it be operational?

[Answer] It is being set up without great speeches, without grand agreements to be signed. It is being created by increasingly motivated operators. And, let us add, some good comes out of all things: The crisis will help.

[Question] Tunisia has just commemorated the 50th anniversary of the PSD. What lessons can one derive from this period with respect to the economic and social development of the Tunisian people?

[Answer] The 50 years are divided into two precise periods. At least the first 25 years were devoted to the liberation struggle and the second 25 years to construction of the country, although for us, the battle has continued. Even on the military level, we had to face colonialism in Bizerte long after independence.

Concerning those 25 years of building the Tunisian state, with its constitutional, educational, health, cultural, agricultural, industrial and other structures, I would only refer you to the figures, which speak for themselves. We know that over a million and a half young Tunisians attend schools and

training institutes and this reflects the effort made in this field. It has been both a financial and human effort to grant absolute priority to the sector.

Regarding health, the effort made has enabled us to improve the life span in Tunisia. Following independence, the Tunisian's expected life span was 47 and it now exceeds 60. At that time also, infant mortality was about 40 per 1,000 and it has not dropped to 7.8 per 1,000.

Concerning agriculture, even if we have not yet reached self-sufficiency, we can say that Tunisian agriculture has developed and the policy followed in recent years having to do with the construction of dams, the development and expansion of irrigated areas to reduce natural difficulties and face droughts and increase agricultural production will soon yield fruit. We believe that in medium-range terms, we shall approach self-sufficiency and even produce surpluses in certain sectors.

With respect to industry, you know perfectly well that Tunisia inherited from colonialism only structures that were so inadequate that nothing can be said about them. Industry's share of the gross national product at the time did not exceed 8 percent. After 25 years, industry has taken giant steps, now making up 18 percent of the GNP. Industrial development extends to the most varied fields, such as food and textiles, machine construction, the electrical industries, building materials, and this in two distinct phases: in the 1960's, replacing imports and in the following decade, exports and employment.

Through its industrial policy, Tunisia tried to use all its energies, all material means and all resources in order to meet the needs of its people and provide jobs for young people coming out of training institutes. And yet, the main objective was employment. It was necessary to use every possibility, which led us not only to mobilize the public sector, but the private sector as well. Tunisia's particular situation and the modesty of its means required that it make the most of its human and material potential. We therefore re-oriented the resources of the private sector that were underused and for which we found the suitable environment and framework.

In substance, that is what was done in Tunisia under the leadership of President Habib Bourguiba for two decades. However, we refuse to say that through these accomplishments, we have settled all our problems and met all the needs of our citizens. On the contrary, we would say that through what we have done, we have created problems! For example, generalized education has meant that our young people are now ambitious, want certain types of jobs and want to move away from agricultural work, among other things. These are difficulties that have arisen despite our determination to extend knowledge and mobilize our energies and even despite the efforts made in the area of employment. I would tell you that during the last plan, we created between 35,000 and 40,000 jobs a year, which is considerable but not enough because for the Sixth Plan, estimates of the demand for jobs total some 65,000. To be frank, we shall be able to create only 40,000 to 45,000 new jobs, which will increase the annual unemployment rate, this despite the extremely positive results accomplished in this domain. Following independence, out of 3 million

inhabitants, some 500,000 were unemployed. At the present time, out of the country's 6 million inhabitants, we have only about 250,000 unemployed, some of them only seasonally. If we view the figures proportionately, we see that unemployment has dropped a great deal. However because of improved education and better living conditions young people no longer accept this situation. Today, work is considered a right, along with health, education and even passing exams! Those are our problems, but also our source of pride.

[Question] The world crisis, which started in the industrialized countries, has had serious effects on Third World countries. What are its effects on the Tunisian economy?

[Answer] The first negative factor is the change in the value of the American dollar. For us, it has meant a sudden increase of about 2 million. You know that several projects -- despite the national financing effort and the fact that Tunisia is reputed for financing 75 percent of its development -- were financed by loans, mainly in dollars. Without our being able to do anything about it, the sudden increase in the dollar, which is one of the elements of the crisis, increased our debt without the contraction of any additional loans. Some 25 percent of the total annual reimbursement of the debt means an additional burden resulting from the increase in the dollar.

Naturally, we were able to soften the blow thanks to some exports which are marketed in dollars.

The second factor of the crisis has to do with the protectionist measures taken by industrialized countries in a more or less straightforward way, those same countries which, one must emphasize, are the most ardent defenders of free trade and the free market but which are now taking every imaginable protectionist measure!

This has somewhat reduced the export capabilities of some of our industries. We are thinking of a new import-export strategy based on our export capabilities and import needs until we can make the protectionist countries understand that this attitude settles problems in short-range terms but guarantees nothing in the long run.

There is but one lesson to be learned from all this. We have to rely on ourselves and relying on oneself is the basis for success in a period of crisis. This prompts us to worry more about our enterprises to as to better master management, improve productivity and competitiveness. To this one must add the need to develop Maghrebian cooperation to face the crisis we are all experiencing together.

[Question] Mr Minister, our last question will deal with the events Tunisia experienced in January and of which the Western press, that preacher of lessons, has given its own version. What can you tell us on this subject?

[Answer] It is true that Tunisia experienced painful events in January whose main cause was the decision to effect an overall increase in the price of grain and grain derivatives. I must tell you that the subsidy for these

products had reached such a point that the prices of bread, couscous, and so on, bore no relationship to the precise price or even that of the raw material. This increase was the basis for these movements and the world press seized on the issue and exploit it as if they were events that were absolutely unheard of and that happened only in Tunisia. Such demonstrations in industrialized countries are not so inflated and presented in this fashion.

We noted a kind of relentless concentration on Tunisia to which we attributed no importance. We took up our problems and the solutions to be used. It is true that the number of unemployed probably played a role in these events and perhaps also, the decision was exploited by those who wanted to harm the reputation of Tunisia. Whatever the case, we learned the lessons deriving from these events: the anachronisms existing in certain structures and for which suitable measures were taken; the avoidance of responsibilities and for which measures were taken so it may not happen again. Finally, we must base all our efforts on the remaining pockets of poverty. Our statistics show us that while 70 percent of our fellow citizens were deprived, our development policy reduced that figure to 20 percent. The lesson we learned from the events is that in the years to come, we must find radical solutions to the problems of these 20 percent of the citizens who are abandoned and left to their suffering and bitterness and who believe, somewhat wrongly, that the development effort in Tunisia does not concern them. We must examine the best solutions to increase employment in our country by new means that will reinforce the traditional ways and investments.

#### Foreign Affairs Minister Interviewed

Algiers REVOLUTION AFRICAINE in French No 1049, 30 Mar-5 Apr 84 pp 8-11

[Interview with Minister of Foreign Affairs Beji Caid Essebsi; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] The treaty of brotherhood and harmony signed by presidents Chadli Bendjedid and Habib Bourguiba revived the movement for the Maghreb to which all peoples in the region aspire. What prospects do you see as a result of the treaty and how do you view the construction of the Greater Arab Maghreb?

[Answer] Construction of the Greater Arab Maghreb is a vital need at the present time. First of all, the idea to build our association is not a new one. All peoples of the Maghreb in their fight for national liberation have always placed edification of the Maghreb at the heart of their concerns and make it a prime objective.

Coming to the current period, one may wonder the reason for such an aspiration. Why the Maghreb? Because we live in an environment and a time when the entire world is organizing in great groupings, especially Europe, which is our immediate neighbor and with which we have very extensive relations. In addition, we were ruled by a European country and furthermore, once independent, we have had privileged relation- with Europe, which is both our main customer and prime supplier.

Europe has organized itself within the framework of the Common Market, with which our countries have special relations because we even have contracts of association with the EEC. In the case of Tunisia, we have done more by creating specific industries in terms of the European market. Finally, for a long time, Europe has been an outlet for our surplus labor. In the case of Tunisia, it is recognized that the number of workers exceeds our possibilities of creating jobs. Our development plans enable us to create between 40,000 and 45,000 jobs a year, while the number of young people coming on the labor market every year is between 60,000 and 65,000. This obviously indicates that there is an excess that finds no employment in Tunisia. Up to now, we were organized to channel and direct this surplus toward Europe and certain neighboring countries. But since the world crisis, Europe has closed its doors to this migratory flow. Not only has it closed its doors, but it is beginning a movement in the opposite direction, trying to get rid of foreign workers and taking protectionist measures against the movement of persons in the Maghreb-Europe direction. In addition, these protectionist measures taken by the EEC also concern the circulation of our products.

All these reasons should prompt us to organize, first of all, in order to dialogue with Europe so as not to be in a situation of inferiority or disparity and also in order to create a market for our products in our own area. These considerations, added to the historical, linguistic, ethnic, cultural, civilizational and religious considerations, argue for construction of the Maghreb. For my part, I would add that we are witnessing in the world a will for organization different from what one saw several years ago. The Gulf countries have organized in what they call the council of the Gulf countries because they constitute an almost complete regional entity that is about to attract the Arab world in that direction.

How the Arab Maghreb is to be built remains to be seen. We must begin and that is where a choice must be made. Should one wait for all the countries to meet and adopt a charter like that of the Maghrebian parties adopted in Tangiers? Or should we try to build it, little by little, stone by stone, every time that circumstances so permit. We believe that Tunisia and Algeria have opted for the proper procedure consisting of beginning without waiting for everything to be perfect. Why? First of all, because we must develop our bilateral relations. We had some shadows looming over our relations because of situations remaining from colonial times: the matter of borders of some other. We have resolved our problems and we can therefore embark upon a phase of cooperation that is much more active, much more intense. That is what we have done because we have won what I would call the battle of confidence in order to indicate that this is a political determination. Confidence has been restored between our two chiefs of state, our mutual leaders, and there remained only to extend it to our two peoples whom everything urges to come together and work hand in hand. This has prompted us to initiate a process of cooperation as broad as possible. I believe that nothing will be able to halt the expansion of this cooperation at all levels and in all domains.

In addition, we had both the honesty and intelligence to include that Tunisian-Algerian cooperation in the Maghrebian vocation. As at the time of our fight



for liberation, we have never lost sight of the Maghrebian dimension. We constantly keep that dimension in mind for our cooperation and development especially in the agreement of brotherhood and harmony signed by presidents Bendjedid and Bourguiba in March of last year. This agreement has already expressed this restoration of confidence that I mentioned and that fits into the Maghrebian perspective. We shall continue to work in that direction, both in the governments and the parties, in order to exchange views, engage in further reflection and establish the new approach taken in the treaty on solid foundations. With every contact and new meeting, we clarify our views and try to remove the obstacles and barriers that could hinder our progress. In other words, we are moving ahead.

[Question] As you have just emphasized, the treaty of brotherhood and harmony must be broadened to include the other Maghrebian nations. And yet, you must be aware that there are certain obstacles. How might one expect to remove them so as to arrive at the Maghrebian objective?

[Answer] First of all, we must recall that this treaty was conceived from the very beginning in a Maghrebian framework because its terms are clear. Moreover, it has been proposed to all our Maghrebian partners: Morocco, Mauritania and Libya. Presidents Bourguiba and Bendjedid conceived a plan of consultations and we dispatched envoys to contact the chiefs of state of all the countries of the Maghreb to inform them about the condition of Tunisian-Algerian relations, but also of the prospects opened up by this treaty of brotherhood and harmony to all nations in the region. Mauritania responded favorably, as did the Libyan Jamahiriya, which asked to join. Morocco is also part and parcel of this Maghrebian process. From our point of view, we believe that we must consider this process as irreversible. Every time we take a step, it is essential to consolidate it in order not to fall back. There is reason here to clarify the situation and solve all the problems posed in inter-Maghrebian relations. For example, by asking to sign the treaty, Mauritania began by solving with Algeria a problem remaining from the colonial period: the question of borders, which has been solved definitively.

Therefore, as you can see, even if our progress is step by step, every step becomes irreversible in the direction of the expansion of the Maghrebian organization and construction of the Maghreb. Naturally, some problems, some obstacles do remain, such as the problem of the Western Sahara. We believe that whether we like it or not, we must get beyond it and ensure that Morocco, a full partner in this Maghrebian entity, will be able to play its full role as a partner in the construction, because even for the problem of the Western Sahara, the solution has been entirely found. The OAU has adopted the principle proposed by the king of Morocco himself at the Nairobi summit. Basically, there are circumstantial problems and the method of application of this principle of the referendum, which now creates a problem within the OAU. However, we think that sooner or later, we shall get beyond this impediment.

[Question] Precisely what can Tunisia's participation be in solution of the conflict and the rapprochement of views between parties in conflict, to wit, Morocco and the POLISARIO Front?

[Answer] Like all other African nations, Tunisia participated in the solution to the problem of the Western Sahara, as recommended and approved by the African consensus. Tunisia is part and parcel of this consensus.

[Question] To get back to construction of the Maghreb and expansion of the treaty? as long as this question is posed, the obstacle will then subsist?

[Answer] That is true. We believe that the dialogue must continue. There are no other solutions than dialogue and issues mature by themselves. We are already far from the situation of blockage in which the problem was found a few years back. At the present time, we are moving toward the solution and all the parties before the court, both the parties confronting one another and the parties that are interested or concerned, agree on the solution, which is the referendum.

[Question] Mr Minister, you just mentioned the matter of the Maghrebian emigration to Europe and particularly France. Today, they are threatening to send the foreign workers home. Has there been any Algerian-Tunisian action to negotiate with the host country?

[Answer] One has to be fair: France has quite a moral position on this problem.

The French Government has always tried to dialogue with all its partners in the Maghreb on this thorny problem. One must also admit that Europe is going through a major economic crisis and that the problem of the presence of Maghrebian workers constitutes a delicate question for the French, given the unemployment raging in that country and at a time also when there is an industrial reorganization and modernization. It is therefore normal for the European partners to think first about their nationals rather than ours! However, despite this fact, France and the Socialist Government have made commitments to the Maghrebian colony which, as the French authorities admit, have had something to do with the French economic expansion during bullish times. This government recognizes that it has duties to this community and it is trying to find a solution in agreement with all Maghrebian partners.

As far as we are concerned, we are willing to dialogue about the matter with the French Government.

[Question] Do you not have the impression that there is a kind of classification of partners on the part of the Europeans? For proof, they cite the admission of Spain and Portugal to the EEC or the professions of faith for an inter-European immigration.

[Answer] That naturally exists. The people in particular react to some civilizational criteria. One cannot prevent this, but we believe that our nationals must be protected and that we must assume responsibility for their rights and obligations. I believe that the French Government is not hostile to dialogue on this precise point, whence the need, perhaps, to get together ourselves, among Maghrebians, so that the solution will be the same, as we did when the French authorities tried to control the migratory flow to France and



the circulation of persons between the countries of the Maghreb and that country. We then got together with the French partner and the solution found for temporary control of such movements was approved by the three Maghrebian countries.

[Question] Mr Minister, the Palestinian problem constituting the Gordian knot of the Middle Eastern question has not advanced one iota. One might even say there has been movement backwards, if one refers to the Zionist aggression against Lebanon. What is your analysis of the problem and solution can be found, based on recent developments?

[Answer] The fundamental problem in our eyes resides in the fact that the Arabs are not united. We hoped that on the Palestinian question at least, we might have common positions. After the Fes Summit, hope was great as to a unification of Arab positions on what is the major problem of Arab countries. And in fact, it is the only problem of the Arabs because the league of Arab countries that is their tribute and common organization has been based on the question of the liberation of Palestine. Unfortunately, this Arab consensus is diluted. Regarding Tunisia -- and I am sure that Algeria's analysis is the same -- it considers that the Palestinian revolution, which is an authentic revolution, is first and foremost the affair of the Palestinians themselves. They set up an organization, the PLO, regarding which the Arabs were unanimous in declaring that it was the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Consequently, it is up to it to trace the political line and choose the solution best serving the Palestinian people. Our role as Arab countries is to support the Palestinian revolution, its sole and legitimate organization, the OLP, and the political line it has adopted. In addition to their support, Arab countries must pledge not to meddle in the internal affairs of the Palestinian people. Otherwise, we shall go back to the situation prevailing at the time of the puppet PLO -- that is, before the Rabat conference. Are these guiding principles respected? We do not think so. Some Arab countries have not taken this path and that is the point of disagreement that weakens the Palestinian cause and reduces its effectiveness. In addition, there were divergencies even within the Palestinian movement and it was our duty not to encourage them, but on the contrary, to bring views closer together. We believe that it is a bitter experience which the Palestinian revolution has just gone through, one that has weakened and reduced Arab solidarity with the Palestinian people. We hope it will be a lesson to all and that the revolution will end with the end of the disagreement and the closing of ranks to pursue the sacred fight that can realize the aspirations of the Palestinian people for a homeland and recovery of their lost rights. We must not mistake one enemy for another. The enemy is known, it occupies the Arab land of Palestine and it must be fought by every means, on the field of battle and on the political scene. To do so, Arabs must be more determined, more united. They must have a common position, convinced that the Palestinian question is the central question of all Arabs. Was the lesson learned? It may be in medium-range terms because in the final analysis, the Palestinian cause is a just cause. That is why we support it, moreover, not because they are Arabs. Peoples fighting for a just cause do not die and will never die.

[Question] Another Arab hot spot where contradictions have been exacerbated to the point that no one can predict what will come tomorrow is Lebanon, where the fratricidal fighting goes on and on. What could the solutions be in order to stop the fighting and achieve reconciliation?

[Answer] There is but one solution: the national unity of Lebanon. From the very first skirmishes, we have -- and I believe this is also the position of Algeria -- demanded respect for the territorial integrity of Lebanon and the exercise of its complete sovereignty over its own territory. It is from these factors that the solution can come. We regret to note that there are actions going against these factors and exacerbating the differences of faith, while favoring division of the country. Whether internal or external, all these factors have been encouraged and amplified by the Zionist regime of Israel, which derives the greatest profit from inter-Lebanese conflict and discord. Israel, whose expansionist and power-seeking policy is well-known, hoped to see a regime in Beirut that would accept its tutelage. Israel is to the Middle East what Prussia was to Europe. The only Arab country that did not have any border problem with the Zionist entity was Lebanon. This did not prevent Israel from occupying it, with the secret hope of keeping the southern region of the country under its thumb. Moreover, Israel continues to occupy southern Lebanon, despite the American engagement and the presence of the multinational forces (NB: at the time of this interview, the multinational forces had not left Lebanon). There is definitely a determination to break up Lebanon by acting on the religious differences, this with the deliberate or unconscious of conflicting factions and also for reasons not related to Lebanon). Lebanon has become the battleground of the superpowers. In addition to this is the absence of any solution to the Palestinian problem, which has naturally had repercussions on the domestic situation in Lebanon. The only situation is national reconciliation, the territorial integrity of Lebanon and exercise of its complete sovereignty over the country. Is this solution imminent? A prediction is difficult, given the factors I mentioned and based on the failure of attempts at an intercommunity dialogue. But even if it takes a long time for this solution to be imposed, we are still supporting all attempts at a dialogue between the opposing sides. They will finally reach a solution, even if the tone is not optimistic. At least, that is what we hope.

[Question] Considering what you have just said, one must necessarily wonder about the role and effectiveness of the Arab League in settling inter-Arab conflicts. What is your opinion?

[Answer] The Arab League is trying to act effectively. Its secretary general is very dynamic and spends most of his time contacting Arab officials. But it is the gathering point of the Arabs and consequently reflects the community of their views when it exists and their divergencies when there are any. It is the gathering point, but that gathering has not taken place. It is the place where Arabs must come together to dialogue and compare views. Given what is now happening, it is difficult to hold any meeting. You are aware of the different attempts to organize an Arab summit which led only to successive postponements. Even the meeting of the Council of Arab Foreign Ministers could not be held. To answer your question then, the Arab League does exist

and that is a positive point. Hope remains of seeing it take over certain questions. It is now working on that and trying to play its role as well as it can, but it is only a mirror reflecting the situation of the Arab world.

[Question] Mr Minister, another organization involves your two countries: the OAU, which is exposed to serious dangers. What can one protect it and ensure its continuity?

[Answer] I am convinced that the OAU is the sole natural framework for dialogue and concertation between African countries and for the settlement of problems of the continent. These problems are many and varied. I can cite you a few: problems of development, emancipation, apartheid, malnutrition, the drought, and so on. These are all serious and dangerous problems confronting our countries. The OAU is therefore the sole, exemplary framework for discussing together these problems and finding adequate solutions for them.

In addition, one can see that the African countries have different orientations, whether on the ideological, political or even economic level. That is why one cannot speak of unity in the proper sense of the word between countries on the continent. However, it is indispensable for us to try to come together, to eliminate the divergencies that sometimes occur between our countries. That common denominator and the best way of serving the interests of Africa is respect for the OAU Charter, which we must apply in spirit and to the letter because it is both the guarantee of the personality, sovereignty and independence of African countries and their common denominator. This is based on the principle that all problems can be discussed calmly and with mutual respect. If in other lands, countries can do without an organization of this type, because they are gigantic countries such as the People's Republic of China, Brazil, the USSR, and so on, we cannot because we are small countries on the same continent and therefore doomed to maintain relations between ourselves and create a climate of cooperation and cordial understanding. It is here more than elsewhere that South-South cooperation finds all its significance, both for inter-African exchanges and also to strengthen the position of our countries in the difficult North-South dialogue. This inter-African cooperation is quite natural. In the case of Tunisia, despite our limited means, the size of our country and small population, we try to develop our exchanges with several African countries, particularly in the field of technical cooperation, because we have experts in the Comoro Islands, Djibouti, Mali and others I am not mentioning. This is a significant example. To conclude, I would say that our organization is the privileged framework for cooperation, cordial understanding and for the defense of Africa against all dangers threatening it.

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CSO: 4519/147

## OFFICIAL DOCUMENT ON ARABS IN TERRITORIES NOTED

TA201215 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 20 Apr 84 p 4 Weekly Supplement

[Report by Arye Tzimuqi]

[Text] A special document has been prepared in the prime minister's office on the standard of living among the Arab population in Judaea and Samaria. The purpose of this document is to refute claims recently made in the United States about the supposedly "bad situation" of the Arabs in the territories.

The writers of the document say that "the U.S. Consulate General in East Jerusalem provides information on the living standards of Judaea and Samaria's Arabs, which is gathered primarily from Arab newspapers published in East Jerusalem, most of which are hostile toward Israel and even support the PLO and are supported by it." The document also says that "of the progress that occurred in Judaea and Samaria during 17 years of Israeli rule, the public knows very little. Due to political events, hostility toward Israel by some militant elements in this population, and hostile propaganda, a distorted picture of the situation in Judaea and Samaria is presented, and there are those who take care to create an image of 'the ugly Israeli.'"

The population of Judaea and Samaria today numbers about 750,000 people, as compared with about 585,000 in 1967. In 1982 the average income in Judaea and Samaria was \$1,390 per year, as compared with \$170 in 1968. This means that the average income in Judaea and Samaria since 1967 has increased eightfold, and today it is higher than in any neighboring Arab country. There are more indications of the rising standard of living: in 1983 there were 18,800 private cars in Judaea and Samaria, as compared with 1,300 in 1970. In 1982 there were refrigerators in 52 percent of the houses in Judaea and Samaria, whereas in 1967 only 5 percent had them.

The writers of the document also claim that the main reason for this sharp rise in the standard of living of the Arabs of Judaea and Samaria is their work inside Israel. About 43,000 of the 83,000 workers in Judaea and Samaria in 1982 worked inside the Green Line, and another 5,000 worked in factories and building projects in the Jewish settlements in Judaea and Samaria. During this time Arab agriculture in Judaea and Samaria progressed from primitive methods to the modern methods used in Israel. The value of agricultural products grew from \$38 million in 1968 to \$400 million in 1982. There was also a considerable

improvement in education and health. The number of students in elementary schools grew by 200 percent. Universities were opened and health clinics established, and the death rate among babies decreased significantly.

The document is summed up by saying that "the progress brought by Israel to the Arab population in Judaea and Samaria during its years of rule is unprecedented for any part of the world."

The writers admit, however, that the progress did not lower the nationalistic aspirations of the local population. "Half the population in the territories is under the age of 15, youngsters who grew up in the new economic reality and they cannot properly assess the progress that Israeli rule has brought with it. They also, therefore, share in the general Arab desire to destroy Israel."

This document was presented some time ago by the prime minister to U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, who keeps demanding that Israel improve the standard of living of the Arabs of Judaea and Samaria and Gaza out of purely humanitarian considerations.

CSO: 4400/228

ISRAEL

'ATZMA'UT MOVEMENT OUTLINES POLITICAL GUIDELINES

TA201604 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 20 Apr 84 p 4

['Atzma'ut Movement election advertisement]

[Text] 'Atzma'ut is running for the Knesset. We are the only ones with a serious plan:

Independent economy and free enterprise.

The government will cease to deal with economic matters, and government-owned companies will be sold.

Income tax: There will be an immediate reduction to half the collected dues, and absolute abolition of the tax in 3 years. No Taxes will be imposed on work and profits, but only on purchases and spending.

The self-employed will cease to be scorned and destroyed.

The moshav form of farming will be freed of the chains of the establishment.

A presidential regime and personal elections.

A constitution to guarantee the citizen's rights and curb the politicians' wild and unrestrained activity.

Abolition of all the special, excessive rights such as double pensions, privileged medical services, free telephone services for life to MK's.

Do not waste your vote--Vote 'Atzma'ut!

[Signed] 'Atzma'ut

Help us circulate informational material. Send your contributions to us--we are not recipients of "party funding" money--nor do we want it.

16 Haqalir Street, Telephone 249885, POB 33180 Tel Aviv.

Meetings with Prof 'Ezra Zohar are held every Wednesday at 2030 in our offices.

## BRIEFS

YOUTH DELEGATION TO POLAND--Recently there has been a great improvement in the unofficial relations between Israel and Poland. On 25 July a delegation of 40 young people aged 17-18 from the Kibbutz Hame'uhad movement is to leave Israel for Poland, as guests of the Polish (Janusz Korczak) Association. The delegation members will tour the extermination camps and be guests of the two orphan homes headed by (Korczak) in Poland. In contrast to the Russians, who do not give any aid in the form of information, archive photos, written materials, etc. to the Museum of the Holocaust and Heriosm in Kibbutz Lohame Hageta(ot, the Poles have published splendid editions of Jewish history books, although it is difficult to get good quality paper in Poland at present. The Poles have also published a poem by Yitzhaq Katznelson, "A Poem About the Jewish People Who Were Killed." There has been an appreciable improvement in the Poles' attitude to Israel. A delegation of young people from Poland had been scheduled to arrive in Israel, but the program was cancelled at the last minute because \$1,000 was requested of each young person. These details were reported yesterday at a news conference in Bet Lohame Hageta(ot, Yitzhaq Katznelson, by Tzvi (Scheiner), the director of the building, and Binyamin (Anulik), the chairman of the (Janusz Korczak) Association in Israel. [Report by Yehuda Goren] [TA160819 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 16 Apr 84 p 12]

CSO: 4400/228

VARYING VIEWS ON WOMEN'S ISSUES PRESENTED

Crown Prince's Wife

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 9 Apr 84 p 8

[Article by Sufi Surur]

[Text] Al-Shaykhah Latifah al-Fahd, wife of His Highness al-Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah, the crown prince and prime minister, said, "If there is a woman behind every great man, then there is a man behind every virtuous woman."

Al-Shaykhah Latifah was critical of the manner in which women's activities were being pursued in Kuwait. She said, "So far, we do not have women who have gone out of their homes to play a national role. But we do have a small number of women who are engaged in national action and who have the awareness to do so."

In an exclusive interview with AL-QABAS al-Shaykhah Latifah added, "Unmarried women do not know the rights that husbands have, nor do they know their duties to their husbands. Women who do not have children do not understand the value of motherhood and the importance of women's primary mission: that of rearing virtuous generations."

Al-Shaykhah Latifah al-Fahd had this to say about women's political rights: "When women ask for their political rights, they are opposed by their husbands or their brothers. Also some women consider their involvement in politics to be an impediment to their domestic responsibilities. Those who approach the matter from that standpoint consider the family to be a woman's responsibility. They consider men's rights to be the same as women's rights and that the rights of neither one outweigh those of the other."

Al-Shaykhah Latifah had this to say about what she thought about convening women's conferences: "Conferences for men and women must not be separated, particularly since most women's conferences are arranged by men."

Al-Shaykhah Latifah al-Fahd expressed the hope that the participation of Kuwaiti women in the areas of developing and making lasting contributions to our society will be greater than it is so as to raise the cultural standards of our country and our nation.

"It was truly surprising that Mrs Margaret Thatcher presided over the British



government, becoming prime minister, winning a majority of the votes for the Conservative party and defeating her competitors in the election for prime minister of Britain. She thus became the iron lady under whose administration victory was achieved in the battle of the Falkland Islands.

"The re-election of Indira Gandhi, the prime minister of India was also surprising after disturbances in the country had brought down her cabinet. But she returned to prove to the people once again that she was the one who had played a prominent role in the politics of India and of the world.

"Although the prime minister of Britain is a woman, she did not assume that position because she is a woman. She rather assumed that position as a thinking power in a party where men and women are equal members. The same principle applies to the prime minister of India who assumed the position for the Conference party because she was the best political person for the job and not because she was the best woman for the position. Herein lies the difference between the notion of women's work as work that is done by women or as work that is done by members of the labor force. The difference between the two is considerable.

"It is my opinion that these conferences that are convened--most recently there was that conference on Gulf women which was held recently in Abu Dhabi--do not realize the ambitions that Arab women are required to achieve. I do not know why there is discrimination between men and women and why women's conferences or men's conferences are held. Nor do I understand why men and women are assigned work that is independent of that of the other. Women's work must not be separated from men's work, and the reverse of that is true. I do not know why women insist on staying in women's groups and blocs and working under the slogans of these groups and blocs. Women are supposed to be effective workers: they should stay away from this male and female business and set forth what they produce without using such adjectives. Women must operate with the power of their character and not as women. The prime minister of Britain did not become the prime minister because she was a woman. She fought, she defeated her opponents and she overcame those around her by winning a majority of the votes. She won those votes not because she was a woman but rather because she was the best person for that job. When she was nominated for that position, she was nominated by the Conservative Party and not by a women's party. She was nominated by a party that has men as members. Simone Weil, the president of the previous session of the European Common Market was a woman who did not represent women. She was a woman who had her own political opinions, and she was a social thinker who assumed that significant position. Thus, what is required from women is a profound view of work and an affirmation of power as an effective factor that has nothing to do with gender."

Al-Shaykhah Latifah added, "For example, studies and research for most women's conferences are contributed by men. Most of the books that discuss women, give an account of their lives, list their activities, evaluate their work and set forth the scientific, literary and educational studies that pertain to women are done by men. What is required of women is that they work alongside men on ideas that involve both of them and that the work of each one complement that of the other.

"We must not say this is women's work and this is men's work, and we must not

hold conferences for women only. We must rather hold conferences to discuss the work that will be available and to which women and men will contribute.

"Women can thus prove themselves as a force and not as a voice. We cannot say we want this. Demands are not fulfilled by making speeches but rather by work. The demands would then be met spontaneously."

The lady of Kuwait wondered, "What is the meaning and what is the purpose of these women's conferences? If the idea behind a conference is a discussion of women's literature and the literature and poetry women bring to the cultural scene, such a conference then turns to a forum in which women's works are compared with those of men. This is considered a private endeavor because of the opinions and ideas that are brought to the scene by female writers. We are not in the 'Ukaz poetry Market! We are in the process of setting forth action. If women were to ponder and review their literary contributions, they would not be able to set those contributions above those of men because women's roles have been circumscribed. This is not their fault but it is rather due to nature which governs their makeup. Women forget that the formation of such blocs of women will create a gap between men and women in case there is a women's party and a men's party. That would create challenges for which there are no justifications. If these conferences are being held to set up an active force of women that would fight men through such forums, then the action women take by themselves will not succeed and cannot be realized without men.

"Women are governed by their own circumstances. They cannot turn their backs on their natural role: a role that was given to them and decreed for them by the Creator. Women cannot give up the primary role they play for their homes, for their children and for their husbands. When conferences are held, this idea is supposed to be safeguarded. One of the principal conditions for women is that their being on the job must not be at the expense of their primary responsibility: their families. Whatever women produce when they do not have peace of mind leaves something to be desired. Women who are unsuccessful in their homes cannot succeed in their work. For example, the idea of day care for children is not a sound idea because any child who does not get a sense of the home atmosphere will not produce a well-rounded family in the future. Day care centers for children do not teach children affection. This is the primary role of women. There are many women who have gained prominence in the field of education, whose writings have been excellent and who chose to stay in the home rather than work. Those women are proud of the fact that they did raise virtuous generations of young people. When men assume their normal positions in the life of the family because they are primarily responsible for the education of women and their children, they have to teach women how to pray, discipline themselves and adopt praiseworthy conduct. Men have to teach children truthfulness and honesty. The head of the household is the primary teacher. Not only is there a woman behind every great man, but there is also a man behind every virtuous and successful woman. A woman who provides comfort and stability for her husband plays a major part in his life and performs her mission fully."

## Women's Role in Society Asserted

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 11 Apr 84 p 6

[Article by Sufi Surur and Nurhan al-Tubji]

[Text] The interview with al-Shaykhah Latifah al-Fahd, the wife of His Highness the crown prince and prime minister of Kuwait, which AL-QABAS published last Monday aroused different reactions. Mrs Na'imah Shu'ayb stated that despite deficiencies, the role women play in our society was a prominent one. "It is also not in the interests of the public to downplay women's role. Society needs women physicians, teachers, scientists and researchers in all areas of knowledge."

Dr Su'ad al-Sabah said that women's roles will begin to materialize when eastern men are liberated from their historical complexes. When that happens women can be liberated from their subordination to men. She criticized all the meetings that examine the lives of women, and she said these meetings went around in circles and their recommendations were mere ink on paper. She affirmed that in the final analysis, women will not get their rights on a silver platter.

Dr Su'ad al-Sabah said, "First of all eastern men must be liberated from their historical complexes so that women can be liberated from their subordination and subjugation to men. Unless this happens, women will not be able to do any significant work or realize any achievement of worth."

Dr Su'ad al-Sabah made additional comments about the lives of Arab women in general or Gulf women in particular. She is a close observer of the suffering of women; she is knowledgeable about it; and she is aware of the problems that women encounter. She understands the method by which these problems can be solved. "If we go back once again to the starting point and to the same circle, we will find that we do go around in circles in all the meetings we've had on the state level or on the individual level to discuss, for example, the problem of women in Arab societies. That is, the outcome of any conference or gathering is merely a collection of recommendations and printed papers that at the end of the day are placed on a shelf or stored in drawers. This is how we deal with any problem we encounter in our lives, whether that problem has to do with women or any other area. As long as we follow this method in dealing with problems, nothing can come out of these meetings that we see and that everyone blesses. We will not cast doubts about the intentions of those people and about their attempts to help women."

Dr Su'ad said, "Women's problems are general problems, whether we're talking about Gulf women or Arab women. They all boil down to one problem: men exercise their authority and all their powers to keep women from participating in conducting the course of life. Unless eastern men get rid of their complexes, women will not get anything."

"If men continue to rule unilaterally in a republic of males, then the state will continue to be governed in the manner in which limited joint-stock companies are run. These companies do not allow the employment of women."

"Educated women have to put their education to work to break that barrier and

enter into the world of men so that men can open doors for them. Women have to achieve their own objectives and the objectives of society. Women will not receive their rights on a silver platter as they lie sipping their afternoon tea, reading newspapers or showing off their clothes! Women are to stop thinking in terms of silly appearances. We are in a race with time: if we cannot catch up, time will not stop and wait for us to catch up with it.

"Women must be liberated from all the unfair restrictions that have been placed in their way. They must stop being 'objects' and become human beings of value. Women are human beings and not objects. When women get out of the shadows where they have been lurking, they will be able to make men recognize their intellectual and cultural capabilities. They will be able to become the partners of men, who still rule. Men are the ones who enact laws; they are the writers and poets, and they are the ones around whom all of life, including the lives of women, revolve.

"We must not stand idly in front of our problems. We must not say this is our destiny; we must not say that women have to stay in their homes waiting for their husbands and serving their children. I am not minimizing the value of this work, but I am saying that in order for women to have a sense of their humanity and their existence, they must have their own careers through which they can actualize their sense of themselves which they lost in their homes. Women must have their own careers so they can feel human and not feel they are objects.

"It may be that our method of handling women's problems is the wrong one. But if the method is wrong, are we then to condemn women to perpetual captivity to these problems without extending to them a helping hand that would get them out of the circle of siege which has been placed around them? Women will take action, but it is our duty to help them.

"Every person has to put his knowledge to work. Education is a revolution, and revolution means actual and radical change in the lives women are living and rebelling against.

"Therefore, every educated woman has to put her intellectual capabilities to work to change the society in which she lives. I do not believe in book knowledge; I rather believe in the knowledge of action. We as women are being called upon to form the revolution with which life begins. Women are the principle from which life springs forth. Without women there can be no life. The problems will be solved only by women themselves. Women have to expect that no one will ask for women's rights for them and no one will solve their problems for them. Therefore, every woman is being called upon to rebel so that change can come about and women can move into a better life in which they can exercise their humanity."

Mrs Na'imah Shu'ayb, wife of 'Abd-al-'Aziz Husayn, minister of state said, "We cannot deny women's roles in society. It seems to me that women do have a prominent role to play. It is true that there are still deficiencies in women's careers, but we cannot deny the role they play in society, particularly in the area of education. Women advanced from being teachers to social workers and deputy ministers. Women spend much time and effort to prove themselves.

"Let us not forget that there is a significant number of women who are university graduates and who have doctorate degrees. We must never forget the role

women played in the past, particularly in the field of education. We must not forget women like Sarah al-Tawhid, Maryam 'Abd-al-Malik, Latifah al-Barak, Dalal al-Bishr, Sharifah al-Salih and Fatmah al-Salih. They were the first teachers we had, and even though they did not complete their higher education, they were able to teach an entire generation. They set the precedent for what women have achieved today.

"As far as women's conferences are concerned, I am in favor of some of them, particularly the scientific and educational ones. I support these conferences because some of them do need support. Women must achieve their rights through forums. Therefore, we have to encourage the steps they take. For example, the Gulf Conference for Women in the Arabian Peninsula which was held recently in Abu Dhabi had to have a certain objective. The results of the conference may not have turned out to be what women wanted, but the conference did at least meet the required objective in part. That conference was a step taken toward subsequent steps that are to be taken. Women have to have some capacity in women's conferences on questions that pertain to them regarding their status, so that women can present those questions at these conferences. As far as the negative factors are concerned, those depend on women themselves: if women can reconcile between their work and their homes. With regard to day care for children when women are at work, there is nothing to be feared from that if women can provide comfort for their children and can place them in safe hands. This is because we need women physicians, teachers and nurses. We need to have women participate in all areas of life. It is true that the home is more worthy of women's attention, but our society also needs to have them play their roles. Today, women are making every effort to prove themselves.

"We need women who are workers, teachers and women who have master's and doctorate degrees. We even need the contributions of women university students. We need the contributions of every woman."

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## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

### OPEN LETTER CRITICIZES GEORGE HABASH

Nicosia FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH in Arabic No 500, 17 Mar 84 p 50

[Article: "Open Letter to Dr George Habash"]

[Text] Revolutionary greetings,

Since you are always expressing your desire to tell the truth to the masses, I hope that you will also be interested in hearing the voice of the Palestinian masses.

We were hoping that the 1982 experience would have been sufficient for you to lay bare the so-called "nationalist organizations," and we are referring mostly to the Syrian and Libyan organizations. We were hoping that this would be sufficient for the formulation of a new revolutionary strategy in light of this new lesson in the struggle. We were hoping that the truth of these organizations would be dealt with. These organizations do not let a single opportunity pass without baring their weak, conspiratorial faces to the Palestinian people and the Arab cause. We were hoping that this would be enough for you to formulate a strategy based on a firm alliance with the masses of our people, with its leadership and sole legitimate representative, the PLO, and with the leaders and heroes of the 1982 war of steadfastness in heroic Beirut. We have become mature through the experience of the history of our people's struggle, and through being a part of the worldwide liberation movement and the advancement and liberation of other peoples. Unfortunately, all we can say is that you have learned nothing from this. In fact, you have taken it upon yourself to trumpet the two infamous organizations to our nation's masses.

You were not satisfied to ingratiate yourself and kowtow to the Syrian and Libyan organizations. Instead, to you, as to these organizations, the revolution became a slogan worn on the chest, and the liberation of Palestine and the destruction of imperialism became something achieved through the media and very big "revolutionary" talk. It pains me and many like me to see this significant retreat in your revolutionary position and to see you participating in a media campaign that is hostile to the legitimate leadership of the PLO and the Palestinian people, and one that instills doubt about that leadership. This retreat is not only evident in the shortsighted opinions and political analyses of the phase the Palestinian revolution is passing through--

a phase represented by all kinds of conspiracies against the leaders of the struggle against imperialism and Zionism--but is also manifest in this lowest of hatred that you express through your publication. This hatred is not directed against who deserves it, but against the strugglers, democratically elected leaders of the Palestinian people, and those who have the support and backing of most of the Palestinian people at home and abroad. They have earned this support through their history of struggle and their identity first and foremost as Palestinian people, who are an inseparable part of the Arab people.

You must know, dear brother, that your denunciation of brother Abu 'Ammar, Khalid al-Hasan, or any other Palestinian leader or struggler is a denunciation of most of the Palestinian people, whom you claim to support.

Your description of brother Abu 'Ammar as the "parish", etc, and brother Khalid al-Hasan as the "imbecile" has alienated you from the Palestinian people. If you thought that such a description would gain you the respect of your people, you were wrong. Perhaps it would get you a pat on the back from Hafiz al-Asad or Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, but it saddens us that this has become your goal.

Dear doctor, the smallest child could have easily described you as a traitor to his family and people when you were sitting in the warmth of a chair in Damascus while in north Lebanon the rockets of the "nationalist organization"--as it delights in describing itself--were falling on our destitute huts and the heads of our families, women, and children as well as those noble, heroic Lebanese people who chose to adopt and defend them.

Yes, from that cozy chair you announced in the papers and on the radio that you were for the independent Palestinian national decisionmaking and against efforts to contain...and...and. But you must never forget that he upon whom you lavished all kinds of insults was there with his family, his people, and his fighters. He was confronting the conspiracy to contain and annihilate. He was carrying a rifle. Although your memory may be frighteningly short, you must know that the masses will be the last to forget. If Abu 'Ammar fits the description you have given him, then what has become of you and all of the Arab governments?

Despite our indignation and deep sorrow, and despite all the mistakes you have made and for which our people have paid a tremendous price, we do not want to label you. This is because of our sense of responsibility, our belief that now is not the time for settling scores, our belief in the maturity of our people and their hidden capabilities, and our belief that history has no mercy.

Finally, dear brother, you were happy to threaten and hint at division and fragmentation, as though national unity had unfortunately become a blessing you would bestow on the Palestinian people. National unity, dear brother, is not something you can bestow on the Palestinian people. It is something that exists among those who belong to the revolution and the people who are suffering its pains, and among those who believe in our revolution and its democratic institutions. We are trying to practice democracy in this imperialist, dictatorial, military milieu. It is our strength, our pride, and our guiding revolutionary experience.

You must know this, and you must know that the conspiracy has two aspects, a political and military aspect. It is also right that you should know that a confrontation of the conspiracy must be military and political. It cannot be confronted by fleeing or choosing a comfortable place to sit.

Is it not a duty for he who would confront the military aspect of the conspiracy, which is led by the Syrian regime and seeks to eliminate the PLO military presence that Israel could not eliminate, to enter the battle in the political realm as well? Is not the conspiracy a complete circle that includes Israel, the United States, the Syrian and Jordanian regimes, and has the blessing of many parties? Is this not an Arab play in which [the Arabs] try to convince us of their various conflicting roles for achieving the desired goal, and is the play not directed by America?

Dear brother, he who does not build on his alliance with the people and construct his strategy on this basis, will only fall from the graces of his people and country. Why, by God, are you satisfied to be an obstacle in the path of our revolution, our people, and our advancement toward Haifa, Jaffa, and Jerusalem? We want you to be with the Palestinian people, not an obstacle in their path. We want you to be with democracy and its institutions, not estranged from them.

How many conspiracies, and how much killing and destruction do you need before you realize the truth and act in light of the truth?

Long live the Palestine Liberation Organization and its legitimate leadership.

Long live free Arab Palestine. Revolution until victory.

Signed,

Qays al-Kana'anah  
Australia  
22 February 1984

Copies to:

Dr George Habash  
AL-HADAF Magazine  
AL-HURRIYAH Magazine  
FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH Magazine

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## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

### RELATIONS BETWEEN FATAH, SYRIA EXAMINED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 212, 3-9 Mar 84 p 18

[Article by Salih Qallab: "Five-Hour Dialogue Between Khaddam and al-Qaddumi; Turning New Leaf Between Damascus and Fatah"]

[Text] As of the beginning of this March, 10 months will have passed since the split in the Fatah movement, 8 months since the expulsion of PLO Executive Committee chairman from Damascus and 2 months since the evacuation of Palestinian fighters from Tripoli, Lebanon's northern capital.

After this long bloody period that witnessed the blackest days for Palestinians, a new ray of hope is looming on the horizon. Some see it as a complete turnaround in Palestinian-Syrian relations while others view it as no more than a limited step on the thousand-mile road which is full of obstacles, impediments and trenches.

As is generally known, the head of the PLO political department, Faruq al-Qaddumi, recently visited Damascus. It was the first visit to be undertaken by a Fatah Central Committee member to the Syrian capital since the war in north Lebanon against the PLO leadership and the evacuation of fighters from Tripoli. During this visit, Abu al-Lutf met with Syrian Foreign Minister 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam for over 5 hours to discuss ways to rectify Syrian-PLO relations.

At first, that is, before the meeting between al-Qaddumi and the Syrian foreign minister, the former tried to confer a special character upon his mission to Damascus. He confirmed to all who brought up with him the subject of this visit that it was merely a visit to his family, who resides in the Syrian capital, completely unrelated to relations between Damascus and the PLO.

But after the chief of Palestinian diplomacy went to Kuwait from Damascus, he gave a short statement describing the outcome of his visit as very good, saying that a climate of understanding prevailed over his talks with Khaddam. This is what Abu-al-Lutf said publicly to the mass media, but what he said to his Central Committee colleagues in Kuwait--Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad) and Salim al-Za'nun ('Abd-al-Adib), or to those who contacted him from Tunis, foremost of all, Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad)--was less optimistic and more cautious.

Abu-al-Lutf informed his Central Committee colleagues that the chances of opening the tightly-padlocked doors of Syrian-Palestinian relations are no more than 40 percent, "but nonetheless I heard the Syrian brothers repeating new words and speaking a new language compared to what they used to say previously."

#### New Words

What did Khaddam tell al-Qaddumi and what are the new words the Syrians are using?

Information leaked out about the content of Abu-al-Lutf's report to his colleagues on his talks with Khaddam, which is negligible anyhow, indicates that the Syrian minister did not attack "Abu 'Ammar" as he used to in the past and that he talked enthusiastically about the restoration of Syrian-Palestinian relations, saying the conditions for re-establishing such relations did not include all the items on that long list that had been crowned by the demand to replace the chairman of the PLO Executive Committee.

The same information said that the new list of conditions did not include a previous condition that the Fatah leadership should reach an understanding with the dissidents first, to be followed by an understanding with Syria.

Before judging the outcome of Abu-al-Lutf's visit to Damascus and his talks with Khaddam, an obvious question must be asked: Was this Palestinian official's undertaking a purely personal initiative motivated by his relationship with the Syrian foreign minister, or was it a result of a resolution adopted by the Palestinian leadership and part of a universal orientation dictated by new developments in the area, in the forefront of which are recent developments in Lebanon?

The fact is that there is conflicting information about this subject in particular. Some Palestinian officials told AL-MAJALLAH that they had no prior knowledge of Abu-al-Lutf's action, while others point out that this visit is in total harmony with past Palestinian tendencies and a natural consequence of previous resolutions, emphasizing that the Tripoli events must not be considered the end of the road for Syrian-Palestinian relations. Whatever the case may be, it is noteworthy that this visit came only a few days after the issuance of official Palestinian statements about Syrian-Palestinian brotherhood and the necessity of uniting the efforts of both sides to confront American-Israeli threats.

Specifically, the political editor of the Palestinian New Agency, WAFA, who usually reflects Abu 'Ammar's personal opinion albeit indirectly, published, in the wake of recent Lebanese developments, a series of commentaries considered to be a complete "turn about" in the language used by Damascus and the PLO. These commentaries emphasized the necessity of turning over a new leaf, forgetting the painful past and looking for common grounds to return Palestinian fighters to their rightful place on the confrontation fronts.

Information AL-MAJALLAH obtained from numerous Arab and international sources explains the truth about Abu-al-Lutf's visit to Damascus. This information indicates that the visit came amidst a sea of what may be described as an onslaught of new mediations to end the Syrian-Palestinian struggle. It can be concluded that Abu 'Ammar, after attending the funeral of Soviet President Yuri Andropov, held long discussions with senior Soviet communist party leaders who expressed their readiness to mediate between him and the Syrian leadership. Abu 'Ammar welcomed this offer and expressed his readiness to forget the past and to open a new page on the basis of mutual respect and an independent Palestinian decisionmaking process. Accordingly, the Soviet leadership informed him that it was going to send him an invitation soon to visit Moscow and that Soviet Deputy Premier Geydar Aliyev was going to add to the dossier of his upcoming visit to the Syrian capital a special clause about Syrian-Palestinian relations. This information also points out that Soviet endeavors have been coupled with similar Cuban efforts, agreed upon between 'Arafat and Cuban President Fidel Castro during their recent meeting in Moscow, with Indian efforts within the framework of the non-aligned movement, and efforts initiated a long time ago by South Yemeni President 'Ali al-Nasir.

#### New Circumstances

In order that judgment of the outcome of these initiatives may not remain mere undefined speculations, one must get the feel of how ready these two Palestinian and Syrian sides are to put the memories of the bloody days behind them and to replace past bitterness with a hope for new relations on clear bases.

The information intimates that some Syrian circles are almost convinced that there is no possibility under the present circumstances for finding an alternative to 'Arafat's leadership in Palestinian action and that events have proven that the departure of the Palestinian force from the fundamental action arenas notwithstanding, the Palestinian decisionmaking process is still in the hands of Abu 'Ammar.

As a clear indicator of such conviction, the information confirms that some senior Syrian officials have begun grumbling about the difficulty of dealing with the dissident leadership and are now "lamenting" the legitimate Palestinian leadership after every disagreement with the dissident leadership over points of view and some daily procedural matters as well.

It seems that developments in Lebanon have demonstrated to some Syrian officials that what brings them together with 'Arafat is much greater than what brings them together with the dissidents and that there is almost no comparison between coming to an understanding with the legitimate Palestinian leadership and what goes on with regard to the dissident groups. In this respect, it is commonly known that Abu Salih moved to West Beirut immediately after the departure of the Lebanese army and tried tenaciously to stay there over the objection of the Amal and the Socialist Progressive Party leaderships who are eager not to throw the Palestinian card into the current Lebanese conflict. It appears that the Syrian leadership is fully convinced of the exigencies of their eagerness and that the Palestinian return to Beirut through the previous matter does not serve the course of developments in the conflict.

Moreover, some Palestinian sources are saying that Damascus is no longer hiding its uneasiness about the nature of prevailing relations between the leaders of the dissident groups and that it has refused to have anything to do with the possibility of ending the vicious struggle between the "Abd Khalid al-Umlah" wing and the "Abu Salih" wing. But this is not all. Information also indicates that Damascus has discovered, in light of recent Franco-American positions, that 'Arafat is not affiliated with a design aimed at isolating Syria from Middle East developments and a solution to the Palestinian problems and therefore it is more ready now to review its past relations with the Palestinian leadership in the direction of reaching a mutual understanding, forgetting the past and laying down the bonds of new relations.

Opposite this Syrian desire is the desire of the Palestinian leader who has not stopped for a moment, even after his departure from Tripoli, expressing his wish to end the differences with Syria. A clearly indicative incident is Abu 'Ammar's reply to one of his interlocutors, who talked about the necessity to give in a little to Syria for the sake of reaching an understanding with it. "I agree to walk 16 paces behind President Asad but I refuse to be tied to any Syrian apparatus."

In addition to this desire based on the Palestinian leader's understanding of Syria's position and standing in the Middle East conflict, a high-ranking Palestinian official points out that recent developments at the Lebanese level, the regional level and the international arena have convinced Abu 'Ammar, as well as Damascus, of the necessity to abandon past alliances and reach common convictions between them over ways and means to solve the crisis in the region. However, this does not mean that the matter is that simple and that the train of new relations has taken off from the station of ruin to the station of understanding since what Abu-al-Lutf has done so far is no more than a gentle breeze that blew through the Syrian-Palestinian "Khamsin" winds.

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'ARAFAT SAYS PALESTINIANS TO PERSIST IN STRUGGLE

Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI in Arabic No 93, 17 Mar 84 pp 9-11

[Interview with Yasir 'Arafat: "Abu 'Ammar Talks About Issues of the Hour; The Conspiracy, the 'Bank' Delegation, Balkanism, Settlement; We Do Not Wait for Opportunities and Reactions, We Try to Create and Search for Ways and Opportunities."; date and place not specified]

[Text] AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI publishes this important exclusive interview with Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, which dealt with important issues in the Palestinian arena. We emphasize here that we at AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI will try to do our best to offer all that we can to our people's masses, through our magazine which will not disappoint them. We will spare no effort in developing this magazine of the Palestinian masses who will always be the arbiter of events in their arena. The following is the text of this important interview:

[Question] You warned against the Israeli invasion before it happened. War broke out and our people wrote epics. Where are we today?

[Answer] We must say that we were not surprised by what happened and is still taking place. I hope that my people, my brothers and my comrades will remember my statements prior to the battle for Beirut and south Lebanon about the "dark tunnel" which the PLO will be forced to traverse and the resulting difficulties and challenges we have actually faced and are still facing. I talked about the details of this war and about our expectations that have come true, including the arrival of Israeli troops to Khaldah and the Beirut seige. Likewise, some must remember what I said after my return from the first Fez summit that Fez would turn into swords over our heads and that I am a "sore in the eyes." Many tried not to believe this, especially when I announced a general mobilization of our camps, students and women in Lebanon. I and those who read or heard what I had to say remember that I talked about "Balkanism" and the new political map being drawn for the region and about sectarian partition. But I said this convinced that I was at the end of the tunnel, able to see the light and the minarets and churches of Jerusalem.

[Question] What was the aim of the conspiracy and is it still going on?

[Answer] The conspiracy was aimed at erasing the Palestinian number from the Middle East equation and, consequently, erasing the organization in terms of it being the witness for the prosecution, the factor of unification, the stronghold of the resistance, the oasis of democracy and the anchoring rope of the free and the honorable in our Arab nation and the whole world. In this respect, it [the conspiracy] is not aimed at the Palestinian revolution and the organization [i.e., the PLO] or at Lebanon and its national forces. Rather, it is aimed at our Arab nation: its civilization and its survival. It is not a matter of here or there for us, but to be or not to be. A quick reference to Ben Gurion's or Sharet's memoirs and Indian author Kranjia reveals the dimensions of this scheme in which some Arab sides are unfortunately involved. This brings to mind the European wars which the European call the Crusades, but we refuse to call them that because they established in our region principalities and petty states for the "Ayabkah," the plural of "Aybak," [possible historical reference to 'Izz-al-Din Abu-al-Mansur Aybak al-Mu'azzami who governed Damascus (1200-1218), then became sultan of the empire of Damascus (1218-27), and subsequently ruled an area in the Hawran as a fiefdom,], who "hatched" sanjaks. Tonight is so much like yesterday [i.e., things have not changed]. This sectarian partition scheme is a repetition of what happened in our region not too long ago. The first element of success for this scheme is to strike at and eliminate the organization. But the miracle is that the organization has so far held out despite this vicious attack and despite the many enemies and the involvement of some Arabs in this scheme, in the belief that we represent the ending of this stage-play and that the victim is surely condemned. But the "calculation of the mast is not like the calculation of the spar" and the Palestinian giant stayed in the ring fighting in the "Marthabelia" corridor, which I called the "marathon" corridor to defend the Arab nation against sweeping Tatar invasion.

[Question] A delegation came to see you in 'Amman. You met with them and talked about the land, about the schemes to Judaize it. What was your reply? What is your impression?

[Answer] Who is against the recovery of the land. The delegation which came to 'Amman carrying this memorandum asked me and I told them the important things about the endeavors and initiatives for the sake of this objective. Due to the importance of what I said, I cannot now go into detail about some aspects of this debate, but it will be disclosed in good time. This reminds me of what our Algerian brothers had to face upon being told territory and independence or the liberation front. What was their reply despite the wide difference in surrounding circumstances, but revolutions are rarely different in principles and ideology. The Algerians said independence and territory are the liberation front. So is it a coincidence that our people should say that the PLO means identity, rights and territory? Nonetheless, the PLO will spare no effort to liberate the land and alleviate the suffering of our people inside and outside the homeland. Not only do we wait for opportunities and reactions, but we also try to create and look for all these ways and opportunities. Events have proven that this pure blood will not be spent in vain, since what has been accomplished so far in confronting this dreadful scheme is worth recording. Events have proven how our cause evolved from a number in UNRWA into the number one cause in the Middle East, rather one of the key strategic causes of this age. Here Moshe Dayan's words come

to mind when he said "the most dangerous thing the organization has done is to convince the world that it is a liberation movement." I point out and reiterate that not only did this happen, but the Palestinian revolution is a principal vanguard in the world liberation movement and an example for all strugglers, revolutionaries and the weak to emulate. I must point out here the respect and high esteem the Palestinian cause and the PLO enjoy in African, Asian, Islamic, socialist and not-aligned countries. This new support, which has begun to assume important dimensions in the European arena and with the American people, did not come by haphazardly, but was translated by the waterfall of blood that yielded this important product on this level, a product that can influence the strategic level with respect to the future of our people and our just cause.

[Question] After the Beirut battle, you talked about the volcano. Are its interactions still going on?

[Answer] First of all, after the Beirut battle, I said that the volcano that has erupted will not subside. We are witnessing this volcano, its interactions and its extensions throughout the Arab arena and all the way to the American White House which is forced to put up cement blocks to keep away the volcano. It has also reached Tel Aviv where Begin was forced to resign; and its clouds swept away Gen Haig and Sharon who planned the invasion of Lebanon. The volcano is still in action and will not subside except at the walls of Jerusalem.

[Question] What about the settlement question?

[Answer] Zionism means immigration and settlement. Settlement is the main obstacle in the peace march. But I would like to remind you of the settlements built by the French in Algeria and the Rhodesians in Zimbabwe. Where are they now?

[Question] Are the contacts initiated by 'Isam al-Sartawi with the Israeli democratic forces still in progress or have they been stopped?

[Answer] First of all, I must say that 'Isam undertook this action within the successive National Council resolutions providing for the opening of a dialogue with progressive and democratic forces inside and outside Israel. We are determined to follow through with the implementation of the council's resolutions in this direction. We are committed to their implementation in accordance with developments in the Palestinian cause. Meetings with these forces are still going on.

12502  
CSO: 4404/402



## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

### PLO MAGAZINE'S HISTORY, POLICIES REVIEWED

Nicosia FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH in Arabic No 500, 17 Mar 84 pp 26-27

[Excerpts] 'Adil Wasfi (Khalid al-'Iraqi) had folded the newspaper as he usually folded it in his nervous manner. But this newspaper was the first copy of FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH that had been seen covered with the blood of one of its editors, blood that had been mixed with the paper's black ink.

Our colleague Khalid al-'Iraqi, whom readers knew as the deputy editor-in-chief of FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH, was killed with two bullets from a hidden gun a few days before the weekly meeting, and the editor-in-chief presented the bloodied newspaper....

Perhaps his picture, there, next to the Arab League, was still in our offices, alongside the pictures of those who had preceded him or those who fell after him. There were about nine people, including editorial secretary Talal Rahmah, managing editor Rashad 'Abd-al-Hafiz, two editors, two drivers, and members of the technical department staff. May God have mercy on all of them.

Our colleagues who have passed do not differ from us, but this week we remember them in a special way. With this issue of FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH, the central magazine of the Palestine Liberation Organization published in exile has crossed the threshold of issue number 500.

It is a normal issue, just as Palestinian death has become a normality, although we have not become at all accustomed to it. It is viewed as a number in the series of FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH issues since the first issue published in Beirut under the chairmanship of martyr Kamal Nasir, who fell on 10 April 1973. It is the 74th issue published in Nicosia. The first issue published in Nicosia was to have been published in Beirut on 7 June 1982. It would have coincided, as we said in the editorial entitled "With You" in issue 426, with an anniversary that was very dear to us. With that issue, FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH was to reach its 10th year. Issue 426 was sent to the printshop on 4 June 1982. The Israeli invasion began the next day and that issue became "a martyr under the rubble."

I remember personally that the article in issue 426 on these pages was entitled, "The Last Arrow in the Old Soldier's Quiver"--an allusion to the threats of Israeli Chief of Staff Refa'el Eitan. In these threats FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH saw the prelude to a decisive war.



FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH is still published weekly, although the day of publication, which used to be Wednesday, then Monday, then Sunday, is now Saturday. Publication stopped on 7 June 1982, so that a daily paper could be published during the great battle of Beirut. The last issue of the FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH daily to be published in Beirut was dated 30 August 1982. That issue bore number 1804. Then the newspaper resumed publication for some months in Tripoli. Coincidentally, or as a bit of prophecy, the editorial in the last issue of the paper published in Beirut was entitled, "Tomorrow, Something More Than Beirut Will be Born," and it began with the phrase, "The Palestinians are not bidding farewell to Beirut...."

Here we have provided you, our dear readers, a glimpse of FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH, including numbers and history. We are contending with delicate feelings when we discuss FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH in this way. We are unaccustomed to it and our dear readers are unaccustomed to it, but one cannot escape the inescapable. The current issue is the 500th and we have traversed more than 12 years. It is a great responsibility for a magazine to carry the phrase, "The central organ of the Palestine Liberation Organization." The foremost of these responsibilities and our professional interest is to continually try to achieve a balance between our mission as the official "organ," and our profession--if such a weighty term can be used--of journalism. We raise the slogan that "We are on a mission, not in a profession."

There is no harm in returning to issue number 426. That issue was published. From the technical and editorial standpoint, it was not less than 10 steps behind the issue that was "buried" in Beirut. But nonetheless, it was published under circumstances that perhaps one day one of the editor-historians will describe. It is sufficient to say that it was published, if we may use a military expression, in a situation that called for "opening fire on anything that moved." It was published with only three editors, including the deputy editor-in-chief. The material was written in a hotel room, then immediately edited, even before the editors knew the name of the street adjacent to the one where they were staying. There were no files or pictures. The pictures were for the most part, from old annual and regular issues of FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH that were in the PLO office in Nicosia. Later FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH worked out of that office before it settled in its current location.

The "Cyprus period" was very trying from several standpoints. Many of the editors, including three whom we nicknamed "the five historians" carried new burdens. This separation was also very difficult because the "editorial family," which managed the affairs of the magazine and newspaper, had remained basically intact since the beginning of 1974.

As our older readers may recall, a historic political statement was issued that year by the PLO. It is known as the "ten point program" or the program for "national government." It was necessary to create an almost entirely new editorial department. From that time, the material in FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH, from the editorial standpoint, gradually began leaning toward "policy" rather than "political creativity. In this regard, we remember an interview with brother Shafiq al-Hut, the director of the PLO office in Beirut, conducted by one of the oldtime--if the expression may be used--Palestinian journalists. In the interview, al-Hut said essentially that looking at the articles published these days in FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH in comparison with the

articles of its first years indicates that Fatah has developed politically. However, brother al-Hut missed the mark on an important point which many who are distant from the editorial "family" or "department" of FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH do not know:

The magazine of the Palestine Liberation Organization is not published by a cadre from Fatah alone. This has been the case since the first issue. This is the first point. Secondly, FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH, from the editorial standpoint, could almost be considered an Arab magazine, since Lebanese, Syrian, Iraqi, and other strugglers have participated in it.

We have said, not as a complaint, that the burden of working for a paper like FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH is a very heavy one. There is no harm in pointing out certain facts as evidence of such a statement. We will refrain from citing some facts which may actually be more important.

One time, in the midst of serious Libyan-Palestinian differences, the editor-in-chief reported that Libya was responsible for the fate of Iama Musa al-Sadr. Although a number of magazines and newspapers had conjectured concerning this matter and characterized their stories as "press exclusives," Shaykh Mahdi Shams-al-Din, the deputy chairman of the Higher Islamic Shiite Council, for a long time continued to say that he had irrefutable proof in his hands. This is what FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH published.

That is one example. Another is that when the Iranian Islamic revolution occurred, FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH welcomed its victories wholeheartedly. The annual issue for 1979 was delayed for nearly 2 months in order to give full coverage to this historic event. However, from the beginning, the Iranian "Islamic revolution" rejected compromises. When copies of FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH arrived in Behran and contained references to the "Fedayin-e khalq," Tehran protested vehemently. The protest was so harsh that FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH was accused of being "Zionist," "inscrutable," and "freemasonic." At this, FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH chose not to report news about the Iranian Islamic revolution for at least 2 years.

The third example concerns a time when this magazine was so bold as to write a series of articles welcoming the "Nazareth victory" of 9 December 1975. Then the magazine began to direct certain elements to carry on a dialog with the communist RAKAH Party in Israel. Up to that time, the press of the Arab communist parties had ambiguous policies on this matter. The newspaper AL-NIDA', the organ of the Lebanese Communist Party, re-published FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH's articles on this subject, which was considered extremely sensitive at that time. We recall, in this regard, that FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH was perhaps the first Palestinian or Arab magazine to re-publish complete articles from Israeli papers with brief introductions.

As a result of this brave and objective position, FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH was criticized by the pan-Arab, or "pan-Arab-ophile" parties and their papers. Some of these parties that were in power prevented communist papers in their countries from republishing articles from FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH or anything that dealt with the RAKAH Party. However, FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH continues to be a progressive paper and, if you will, a "leftist" paper also.

More recently, FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH was the first Palestinian magazine to re-publish material from our struggling counterparty AL-ITTIHAD [Israeli Communist Party paper]. In addition, AL-ITTIHAD uses more articles from FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH than it does from any other Palestinian or Arab magazine.

During this "Cyprus period" in the life of FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH, we will leave the judgment of the quality of editing and production to our dear readers. However, we will point out, in passing, that our mail is now more plentiful than at any previous time. In addition, our glorious circulation is better now than ever before, and is continually improving.

Besides this, perhaps our dear readers have noticed that, in comparison with the papers of the other factions of the PLO, FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH is the most concerned with Palestinian issues and developments in the Palestinian homeland that was occupied in 1967. Also, it is perhaps the best publications in terms of its interest in the national-democratic awakening in the Galilee, the Triangle, and the Negev. This interest is an outgrowth of the mission of FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH as a Palestinian newspaper before anything else.

This, then, is issue 500. We did not blow out any candles, and we only had a small tea party to celebrate its publication. Nonetheless, it is an issue, if we are not mistaken, in which we had to open our hearts to our dear readers. The more perceptive readers realize that the central publication of the PLO has rarely experienced serious media deficiencies or made scandalous political mistakes, although there have been some hardships here and there, and from time to time.

FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH is still published under conditions that resemble an "emergency situation." In explaining this situation, we could go on and on, but always prefer not to burden readers with problems that are the nature of the profession or the nature of the mission during this historic period in the life of Palestinian national action.

As a final word, let us say that this magazine is committed to the policy of the PLO as decided by the Palestine National Councils, and will remain loyal to its mission and will not abandon the accomplishments of Palestinian national action, the PLO, the policy of the political leadership of the PLO, or the wisdom and experience of the chairman of the PLO. His wisdom has been proved dozens of times. This magazine does not avoid constructive criticism here and there, but it is done in an objective fashion which appears to escape the notice of some readers who are somewhat reckless.

This is issue 500 and in it we have deviated some. Perhaps some readers now feel as if they know something new about FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH, and perhaps most of them feel that we have overcome our deficiencies.

In conclusion, let us repeat our public promise that we are determined to achieve victory, determined that FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH will one day be published from the sacred land of Palestine, for it is our homeland and we have no other.

12608

CSO: 4404/376

PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR DISCUSSES ELECTIONS, BORDER CONTROL.

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 28 Apr p 10

[Text] Mashhad, KEYHAN correspondent: In a press conference Governor General Kupa'i of Khorasan explained the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the elections for the second term of the Majlis in this Province and asked the next Majlis to clarify the rules and regulations of Articles 43, 44 and 3 of the Constitution.

He also spoke about the activities for better control of the Khorasan borders in connection with the smuggling of narcotics, the situation of the Afghans in the area, the budget level and the executive priorities for the current year.

Concerning the elections for the second term of the Majlis in the Province, the governor general said: The elections were held throughout the Province of Khorasan with the significant welcome of the Muslim nation and were carried out in complete security. All the Shi'ite and Sunni sisters and brothers participated in the elections with complete freedom. He added: Following the statements of our beloved and revered imam, who said prior to the elections, "Elections are a divine test," the martyr-nurturing people of Khorasan, thank God, like other brothers and sisters throughout the country, have passed this test proudly.

On the same issue, he added: Of course, all the past elections were carried out well, too, but this time, the laws and regulations were more clear and were followed well. According to the available statistics, the total number of participants in the elections of the first term of the Majlis in the Province was 1,112,797 persons, which increased for the second term to 1,642,148 persons, that is an increase of 529,351, or 47.5 percent, in relation to the first term. Of course, this increase differed in different cities and areas. In the city of Mashhad and the central district, there were 373,000 participants in the previous elections and this time, there were 472,000. In other words, there was an increase of nearly 100,000, which, of course,

is natural, some of it due to population growth and some to the enthusiasm of the people in this term--especially given the emphasis of the imam and the hopes of the people, the imam and Grand Ayatollah Montazeri for complete fairness and freedom and representatives not being chosen by one area for another--all resulted in the significant increase in the participation of the people in the elections.

Referring to the cooperation of the authorities and the officials in the elections, he said: Of course, again, I should point out that because the elections are free, some violations occur in certain places, which are investigated and should not cause anxiety for the people. In this connection, in one electoral zone, complaints were investigated and upon examination of several ballot boxes, it was found that ballots did not have the election seal. Hence, with the cooperation of the Council of Guardians, the boxes were voided and the elections were taken into the second phase.

He added: In Mashhad, no complaints have been registered so far, but in other cities in the Province of Khorasan, there are cases under investigation by the representatives of the Council of Guardians.

Concerning the number of cities in the Province whose elections have gone into the second phase, Kupa'i said: In all the electoral zones in which 25 representatives were supposed to be elected, of this number, 15 were elected in the first phase, but through the investigation of complaints, in 1 of the zones, it became clear that the number of votes announced for the candidate who was elected in the first phase was insufficient for elections at this stage and it was ultimately taken into the second phase. Hence, of 25 representatives, 14 have been elected in the first phase. The elections in other places, including Shirvan, Birjand, Fariman, Qa'en and Kashmar, were taken into the second phase. Of course, in Mashhad, too, two of the representatives were not elected in the first phase and, hence, elections for four persons from this city went into the second phase. God willing, two of this four will go to the Majlis.

After expressing his views concerning the next Majlis, the governor general of Khorasan said: The next Majlis, as our beloved imam has also emphasized, is the hope for all of us. The next Majlis will be better than the first Majlis and certainly the essential virtues will be in the Majlis. We hope that the next Majlis, which will carry a heavier burden than the first, will determine the foundations of the future of the country and determine and clarify most of the laws mentioned in the Constitution whose regulations have not been clarified yet, will be more competent than the previous one. Although the report card of the first Majlis was very bright, the burden on the

shoulder of the second Majlis will be much heavier because it must ratify the 5-year and 20-year plans; and certainly the second Majlis will be better able than the first. He also asked the representatives of the next Majlis to deal with the basic laws and leave the minor laws to the committees.

Concerning the Province's developmental plans for the period 21 March 1984-20 March 1985, especially in agriculture, the governor general of Khorasan said: On the whole, given the anti-inflationary policy which the Majlis followed in ratifying the budget for the period 21 March 1984-20 March 1985, unfortunately, the budget which has been ratified for this year is much smaller than we anticipated. Compared to the developmental budget ratified for last year, we have a 10 percent decrease.

Our budget for last year was 15,741,000,000 rials, but this year, the budget is 14,054,000,000 rials. In other words, our developmental budget for last year was 10.57 billion rials, while this year it is 10.4 billion rials. Of course, priority will be given to affairs which will directly increase productivity. However, in the agricultural and natural resources sector, there has been a significant increase. Last year the budget for the agricultural and natural resources sector was 1.24 billion rials and this year it is 1.84 billion rials. In other words, we have had an increase of 44 percent in the budget of this sector. We hope that in the course of the year, by utilizing the resources that all executive organizations receive from the government in accordance with various legislative notes, we will be able to see more activity than last year in agriculture, water, industry and mines. But, given the budget deficit, we are forced to halt the incomplete projects and we will be less successful in new projects. We expect that from the funds in the legislative note concerning the development and protection of borders, a significant budget will be allocated to this Province, through which we hope some of the road construction projects on the borders will become more active.

In response to the question of what percentage of the funds of the Province for the period 21 March 1983-20 March 1984 has been absorbed, Kupa'i said: We projected that by the end of this period, we would be able to use 100 percent of the funds for the Province; but, given the fact that the budget amendment that the government had offered to the Majlis was ratified in the last days of the year to a limited extent, the government limited the allocation of funds and did not give us 100 percent of the developmental budget. But the executive organizations on the whole absorbed the amount which was allocated. For instance, the governor general's technical office was able to absorb about 98 percent of its total funds and about 300 projects have been supervised and carried out throughout the Province by the governor general's technical office.



Then, concerning the problem of addiction and narcotics, the governor general said: Last year, we made an effort to have the anti-narcotics headquarters of the Province hold regular, active sessions and we also asked our brothers, the governors, to actively establish these headquarters in the cities. In fact, one of the heavy but essential burdens that we feel in this regard--given the long border that we have--is that the more precisely we are able to control this border and land, the better able we will be to put the minds of the other provinces to rest. In this regard, we have made much effort to have a larger budget allocated to reconstruction, repair and other effective actions to control the borders. Also, the developmental section of the revolution committee of Khorasan has been active in this regard. Last year, the central office of roads, which includes the two central offices of Khorasan and Birjand, was quite active in these few months so that now the situation is very satisfactory and the gendarmerie brothers work very well. I emphasize that for other provinces to control the borders in the same manner will be very effective in preventing the entry of narcotics. Also, some posters have been prepared and distributed in the villages and districts. In addition, we have shown films in all areas and we hope that in the same way that people were successful in fighting the minigroups, they will be able to help us eliminate smuggling and smugglers.

Also, in connection with the Afghans in the region, he said: The general policy of the government with regard to the issue of the Afghan brothers and sisters is the same policy which was decided upon a little over a year ago, which has begun and is being implemented. God willing, this year there will be more precise and clear controls in regards to the Afghans. But these brothers must observe the regulations of the Islamic Republic. Also, those who have obtained identity cards may receive some of their food with coupons.

10,000  
CSO: 4640/201

IRAN

LABOR MINISTER COMMENTS ON 1 MAY LABOR DAY

LD231735 Tehran IRNA in English 1615 GMT 23 Apr 84

[Text] Tehran, 23 April, IRNA--On the occasion of World Labour Day, 1 May, the Iranian labour and social affairs minister, Abulqasem Sarhadizadeh, commented on the present conditions of the workers in various countries.

Talking at a press conference here today, he said that at a time when the world is going to celebrate the labour day, workers in the East and the Western blocks, being deprived of all convenience, are suffering under the suppressions of these governments.

The Islamic Republic of Iran, he said, is committed to upholding the rights of the workers who are the deprived strata of people. The workers in Iran should put up with certain shortcomings in the country as they had played a vital role in the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran.

The Iranian labour minister further noted that after the victory of the Islamic Revolution efforts were made to redress the rights of the workers in Iran and labour laws have been drafted, which after getting approved by the cabinet, would be forwarded to the Majlis for its final approval.

Also laws relating to Islamic societies and councils in Iran have been, through the latest amendments, merged under the labour laws, he said.

CSO: 4600/535



ENVOY: 'SUPERPOWERS HOPE TO USE ISRAEL TO STOP ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS'

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 3 Apr 84 p 4

/Text/ Tehran--Islamic Republic News Agency: Hojjat-ol-Eslam Ali Akbar Mohtashemipur, the ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to Syria, who was injured during the attack of the oppressor's agents on the embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Damascus, returned to our Islamic homeland on Sunday night after recovering.

According to IRNA, Hojjat-ol-Eslam Mohtashemipur was welcomed at the Mehrabad Airport by Mohsen Rafiq-Dust, the minister of the revolutionary guard of the Islamic Republic, Sheykh ol-Eslam, political undersecretary and a few officials of the ministry of Foreign Affairs, ambassadors and officials of the embassies of Syria and Palestine in Tehran. In a press interview, he explained the aims of the attackers for such a criminal attempt and the reasons for his return to the country.

Having lost one hand and three fingers of his other hand from this attempt on the Islamic Revolution, he stated his condition was satisfactory. He said: "I, as a small element in the Islamic Revolution, surrender my soul to the proclamations of the nation's imam. When I started to serve my country, I was well aware of the problems that the enemies have created in the path of serving the Islamic Republic of Iran. The reason that I returned to Syria after receiving rudimentary medical treatment, was to prove to the enemies of the Islamic Republic in the region that the servants of the Islamic Republic will not give up their Islamic movement and their aims until the last moments of their life. These attempts, terrors and explosions do not have any effect on those who carry the flame of faith in their heart. The purpose of my trip to our country is to meet with our beloved imam."

Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohtashemipur, in response to the question of what groups were responsible for this action, said: "When our beloved combatants proceed in the battle fronts, despicable Saddam fires missiles at our cities, and since he is unable to confront the Islamic combatants he uses chemical warfare. When America, Israel, France, England and Italy are unable to confront the Muslim youth or even the elderly in the Islamic lands of Lebanon and Palestine, who are only armed with the weapon of faith, and are fighting with the most simple weapons, the enemy realizes that the source of this strength are the devout clergy. Therefore, they assassinate the clergy and martyr the high ranking

Sheykh Ragheb Harab in Jabasheit, and then they kidnap his successor Sheyk Abdolkarim Obeyo, and until now, no one has any information about his destiny. They think that if they eliminate some individuals, the Islamic movement will stop.

"But the enemy is not aware that the Islamic movement in the region will not stop because of these despicable actions; if one fails, tens would take his place. As we witnessed in Lebanon, the great victory, resistance and fighting of the Muslims against the interventionist forces and Zionists in expelling the aggressors. The interesting point is that the struggle in the region is not limited to Shiite Muslims but the spirit of defiance is created among the Sunni clergy also.

"Since ancient times, the enemy, in order to keep its positions, has tried to build up popularity, but very soon, the people identify these actor agents and reject them."

He added: "We proclaim to the enemies of Islam that you cannot win anything against the will of the nations, and the governments which are trying to play the role of mediators must realize that the superpowers never sacrifice Israel, which is like a lance in the heart of the Islamic societies of the region, since they hope to stop the Islamic movements through Israel."

Hojjat ol-Islam Mohtashemi, at the conclusion of his talk, thanked and gave his appreciation to the effective role of the armed forces of Syria under the leadership of Mr Hafez Assad in resisting and confronting American and Israeli forces in the region and the presence of Syrian forces at all the war sites of the Lebanese Muslims against America and Israel, which are going to be graveyards for the aggressors forces. He expressed hope that by strengthening Iranian-Syrian strategic relations, and the presence of the two countries in a single line and fighting shoulder to shoulder against colonialization, will liberate the beloved Jerusalem.

9815

CSO: 4640/185

NVOI ASSAILS IRAN'S INTERFERENCE IN AFGHAN AFFAIRS

TA231216 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 21 Apr 84

[Unattributed commentary: "Hands Off Democratic Afghanistan"]

[Excerpts] Dear compatriots: Leaders of the Islamic regime--who are entertaining the thought of conquest and who are rushing head over heels to export their notorious Islamic revolution to all countries--have gone so far in their criminal participation to implement the Satanic plans of imperialism, headed by America, that they have totally disgraced themselves in view of our homeland's people.

One of the instances of the Islamic Government's participation in imperialist plots is the policy of Iran's Islamic regime with respect to Democratic Afghanistan. Iran's Islamic Government is impudently interfering in the internal affairs of the independent country of Afghanistan. Along with Ziaul Haq's regime and the regimes of Egypt and Saudi Arabia's royal regime, it is actually participating in U.S. imperialism's undeclared war against the Afghan people and government.

The scandal of the Islamic regime's interventions in Afghanistan has reached such an extent that the Democratic Afghan Government--which at one time used to ignore these improper interventions for the sake of the Iranian nation and revolution--has now been forced to make available to world public opinion the facts pertaining to the impudent interference by Iran's Islamic regime in the internal affairs of its country--on the bases of documents and evidence.

Recently Afghanistan's BAKHTAR News Agency, in an official commentary, strongly condemned the conspiratorial acts of Iran's Islamic regime against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Yes, the Islamic regime ruling over our homeland--simultaneously with practicing an antipeople policy of terror and repression within the country--has in foreign policy also trampled on the aspirations and goals of the Iranian nation's revolution. It is speeding headlong on a course that even the American regime of the treacherous shah as well did not dare to adopt so impudently for fear of the people. The Islamic regime is presenting to the people rapprochement with imperialism, headed by world-devouring America, and enmity with the friends of the Iranian nation--in an Islamic wrapping--as a national

foreign policy. This regime is covering up interference in the affairs of the independent country of Afghanistan, which is being (?inspired) by the region's reactionary regimes on the basis of a U.S. plan, as allegedly the salvation of Islam in Afghanistan. The implementors of this treacherous and antirevolutionary policy, however, are little aware that our homeland's people have now realized their antipeople nature, and are strictly demanding that they stop interfering in the internal affairs of the friendly and independent country of Democratic Afghanistan.

CSO: 4640/203

NVOI COMPARES IRANIAN, AFGHAN REVOLUTIONS

TA272020 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 27 Apr 84

[Unattributed commentary: "Two Revolutions and Two Destinies"]

[Excerpts] Dear compatriots: While the people of our neighboring and fraternal country, Afghanistan, were celebrating with enthusiasm and fervor the 6th anniversary of their national and democratic revolution, in Tehran a group of Afghan counterrevolutionary mercenaries--instigated by an Islamic Government that supports economic terrorists and which is the foe of freedom--raised a hue and cry.

Afghanistan's national and democratic revolution occurred on the 6th day of the month of Sawr, corresponding to the 6th of Ordibehesht [26 April], and for this reason it is called the Sawr Revolution. On 22 Bahman of the same year [11 February]--6 and 1/2 months after the Sawr Revolution in Afghanistan]] the popular and anti-imperialist revolution of our homeland's people, Iran, took place and achieved victory.

The Sawr Revolution of the Afghan people and the February Revolution of the people of our homeland, Iran, have several things in common but two totally different and contradictory destinies. The forces participating in both revolutions were toiling workers and peasants, tradesmen, shopkeepers, toiling intellectuals, army personnel and other patriotic forces. The internal counterrevolutionary forces consisted of landlords, khans, dependent major capitalists, reactionary clergy and other agents and associates of imperialism. On the international scene too, the foes of both revolutions were international imperialism, headed by America, and the region's revolutionary, progressive and independent governments. Both revolutions had a popular and anti-imperialist nature, and were staged with the aim of attaining similar goals, namely, freedom, independence and social justice.

However, today when 6 years have passed since the Afghan people's Sawr Revolution, and 5 and 1/2 years since the Iranian people's February Revolution, in these two neighboring and fraternal countries we are witnessing two totally different and contradictory scenes. Despite all difficulties, plots and the undeclared war by international imperialism and reaction headed by America, including Iran's Islamic government, the Afghan revolution is moving forward with steadfast strides and has achieved outstanding successes. But the

Iranian revolution is in a state of regression and on the verge of total defeat.

The Afghan people enjoy complete political, ideological, religious, social and personal freedom. But in our homeland, Iran, a medieval Islamic dictatorship does not allow anyone to breath. It massacres revolutionaries and patriots, and subjects dissidents, including the adherents of other religions, and even Muslims of the Shi'ite faith, to pressure, torture and torment.

Afghan women enjoy equality of rights with men in work and social life. But the Islamic rulers are striving to transform women into second class creatures who lack the slightest right. Iranian free-thinking women are either in prison or have no possibility to leave their homes.

On the world and international scene, the Democratic Afghan Government, enjoying the support of the broad masses of people, is pursuing a policy of peace, friendship and cooperation with all countries throughout the world, as well as consistent struggle against imperialism headed by America. But one can dare say that the Islamic Government of Iran in practice and wittingly and intentionally is an associate and implementor of the warmongering policy of international imperialism, led by world-devouring America, and is a friend and ally of such countries as Turkey and Pakistan. In addition to prolonging the U.S.-sponsored destructive war, it is also participating actively in the undeclared war against the democratic government and people of Afghanistan, and sends robbers, killers and professional smugglers into Afghanistan for sabotage and murder.

Despite having two totally contradictory destinies, the Afghan Sawr Revolution and Iran's February Revolution also have another common aspect: that is, these two revolutions are still continuing, and will continue until the achievement of popular and anti-imperialist targets. The difference is that the Democratic Afghan Government is advancing the revolution with the support and assistance of the overwhelming majority of toilers and patriots, while Iranian toilers, revolutionaries and patriots view attainment of the revolution's popular and anti-imperialist goals in a united and consistent struggle against bloody and superstitious rulers, as well as cutting off their hands from power.

CSO: 4640/205

NVOI ASSAILS IRAN'S ANTI-AFGHAN POLICY

TA011438 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 30 Apr 84

[Unattributed commentary: "The Support of World Public Circles for the Afghan Revolution"]

[Excerpts] Dear compatriots: Recently the consultative assembly of representatives of public circles of Asian countries, which are members of AAPSO, was held in Kabul, capital of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

In this connection we deem it appropriate to talk about the Islamic Government's attitude toward the problem concerning Afghanistan. The Islamic Government is covering up its cooperation with imperialist circles and the region's reaction against the revolution of the Afghan people under the mask of support for the Islam and the salvation of Islam in Afghanistan.

The Islamic Government does not hesitate to hatch plots against revolutionary Afghanistan, and is one of the most active participants in the undeclared war by the United States against independent and democratic Afghanistan. Everyone knows that the Islamic regime--as Ziaul Haq's regime in Pakistan--has set up bases for the fugitive Afghan counterrevolutionaries on the soil of our homeland. It is arming the mercenaries of expelled Afghan feudalists and major capitalists to carry out subversive and terrorist activities against the Afghan people, and is placing large sums of money at the disposal of these bands of killers.

Thus, while the main factor for a settlement of the issues relating to Afghanistan is the cessation of interventions from abroad and the termination of this undeclared war, the Islamic Government is aggravating the war in concert with international imperialism and regional reaction. The Islamic Government is backing and supporting certain bands of killers that have been driven out from the country by the toiling and Muslim Afghan people through their revolution. Under the pretext of allegedly supporting Islam in Afghanistan, the mercenaries of feudalists and counterrevolutionaries backed by the Islamic regime drag the people in dust and blood, and blow up schools, hospitals, mosques, bridges and so on. These elements murder peasants who have become landowners on the basis of the implementation of agrarian reforms.

With these impudent interventions, the Islamic Government aims to export its notorious Islamic revolution to Afghanistan, and install in that emancipated country a system similar to the medieval system ruling in our own homeland, and establish the domination of such executioners as Lajevardi, the executioner of Evin. But these gentlemen are little aware that they cannot turn back the wheel of history's progress in Afghanistan. The Afghan people are moving forward on a path of building a new, free and democratic society--a society in which exploitation and domination will be ended forever. No power--whether international imperialism or regional reaction, including Iran's superstitious and reactionary rulers--cannot and will not be able to deter the Afghan people from their chosen path.

CSO: 4640/207



NVOI COMMENTS ON SLOGANS AGAINST SHAH, SADDAM

TA231006 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 21 Apr 84

[Unattributed commentary: "For the People, the Essence of the Slogan Is the Issue"]

[Excerpts] Dear compatriots: Our nation's glorious popular and anti-imperialist revolution achieved victory in a considerably short time, and culminated in the downfall of the shah's decaying and mercenary regime. The revolution was brought to victory by the broad masses of toilers led and organized by revolutionary and patriotic parties organizations and groups, and foremost of all the Mojahedin, the Tudehis and the Feda'is. In the era of Mohammed Reza Shah's dictatorial regime, particularly in the last years, mosques and religious assemblies were the only places in which the people could father and express their class demands publicly, and mainly in a religious garb and so some of the clergy who were in contact with the masses were able, by raising slogans that were in harmony with the demands of the toiling masses and of revolutionary and patriotic parties and organizations, to obtain great influence among the people.

When the shah and his American supporters wanted to save Mohammed Reza Shah's mercenary regime from overthrow through the deceitful slogan of "A Constitutional Shah and the Rule of Law," Ayatollah Khomeyni's famous phrase of "The Shah Must Go" was widely welcomed by the people and all revolutionary and popular forces. With this slogan, as well as the slogan "Death to the Shah, Death to America," the revolution threw the decaying and corrupt monarchical regime onto the dust heap of history forever and drove out the U.S. imperialists from our homeland.

When at the instigation of international imperialism, led by America, our revolutionary homeland was subjected to attack and a part of our homeland was occupied, again the slogan "Death to the Foreign Aggressor, Death to America" was welcomed by all toilers, revolutionaries, and patriots. The broad masses of people responded positively to the call by Ayatollah Khomeyni, who at that time had enormous influence among the people, and to the call by all revolutionary forces, including the Tudehis, the Feda'is, and the Mojahedin. They rushed to the battlefronts from all over the country, and despite the prevailing unfavorable and difficult conditions following the revolution,

they drove out the aggressive enemy from the homeland's territory through unity, courage, and miraculous self-sacrifice.

When the superficial and monopolist clergy, however, together with dependent major capitalists, large landowners, pseudoclergy, and other imperialist agents, seized power and led the revolution toward defeat and destruction, some of the clergy--under the wrong impression--thought or pretended that these truly miraculous victories were not the gain of struggle and devotion by the broad masses of people but allegedly only the result of the prophet-like and military genius of the commander in chief. It suffices for him to say: "Saddam must go," after which all the people would respond positively to his call, overthrow Iraq's regime by a miracle, and export the gentlemen's infamous revolution to Iraq. Thus, a miracle that took place with the slogan "The Shah Must Go" would be repeated. The people saw and realized, however, that such a miracle did not, does not and will not take place, because these two slogans, despite the similarity in wording and despite the fact that they were uttered by the same person, under no circumstances have any meaning or purpose for Iranian toilers, revolutionaries, and patriots.

For this reason the people, for a long time now, have not attached any credibility to the slogan "Saddam Must Go," because this slogan has not offered them anything except death, repression, terror, more poverty, and deprivation. Today the slogan that expresses the demands and interests of toilers and all Iranian revolutionaries is the slogan "Unity of All Toiler and Patriots, All Popular and Revolutionary Parties, Organizations and Groups for Ending the Destructive and Devastating U.S.-Sponsored War as Soon as Possible, as Well as Cutting off the Hands of Traitors to the Revolution, the Homeland and the Toilers From Power." All of us are witnessing that the number of supporters of this slogan are growing and becoming more active day by day.

CSO: 4640/208

FVOI COMMENTS ON DEATH OF CLERGYMAN

GF272010 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian 1500 GMT 27 Apr 84

[Text] Akhond Mehdi (Shahabadi) has been killed in the south. The Khomeyni regime claimed that Akhond Mehdi (Shahabadi) was killed at the war front, but the Free Voice of Iran correspondent reports that he was executed by the revolution in Ahvaz by a soldier who was opposed to the warmongering policies of the Khomeyni regime and who considered the mullahs a cause for Iranian misfortunes.

The Khomeyni regime which claimed that Mehdi (Shahabadi) was killed at the warfront has not revealed the place and the day of his death. Most of the armed combatants have decided that they will make the most of every opportunity to make the hearts of the reactionary and cutthroat mullahs, who are mainly responsible for the continuation of the Iran-Iraq war, their targets and will aim their guns at the mercenary elements of the regime. While the warmongering policies of the mullahs are responsible for the daily slaughter of thousands of our youth, the execution of Mullah Mehdi (Shahabadi) has become a propaganda stunt in the hands of the Tehran regime to show that mullahs in the regime are also being killed in the war.

While Khomeyni does not show slightest reaction to the slaughter of thousands of Iranian youth, he sends a message on the death of the regime's mercenary and calls him the greatest crusader. The execution of Mehdi (Shahabad), the Khomeyni organization, is a sign of the expression of anger and hatred of the people, particularly of the armed forces, against the steps taken by the mullahs regime in continuing the war. The Khomeyni regime does not send the mullahs to the front, only some of them deliver speeches to the guards behind the fronts. Our correspondent reports that most possibly Mullah Mehdi (Shahabadi) was killed either behind the war fronts or at Ahvaz at the hands of the armed combatants and freedom seekers. By showing that he was killed at the warfront, they want to make propaganda value of his death. Akhond (Shahabadi) had gone to Ahvaz to address the guards and military men and there he was sent to hell by the bullet of an unknown Islamic combatant.

CSO: 4640/206

MILLIONS TO EXPAND INDUSTRY IN SISTAN AND BALUCHESTAN

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 24 April 84 p 25

[Interview with director general of the Sepah Bank of Sistan and Baluchestan by IRNA; date and place not specified]

[Text] Deposits in the Sepah Bank throughout the country increased by 50 billion rials compared to the same period last year.

Chahbahar. In order to expand industry in Sistan and Baluchestan, 1 billion rials will be put at the disposal of applicants to invest in small industrial projects.

The director general of the Sepah Bank of Sistan and Baluchestan made these announcements in an interview with IRNA and added: Considering the interest-free foundation of Islamic banking and the unprecedented receptivity of the martyr-nurturing people of Iran, the deposits in the Sepah Bank throughout the country have increased by 50 billion rials compared to a similar period last year.

He also announced that the efforts for revitalizing agriculture in Sistan and Baluchestan in order to provide for the needs of the oppressed Muslim people of this region is one of the most essential issues and said: The Chahbahar branch of Sepah Bank, which has recently opened to offer more services to the oppressed people of this region, has opened accounts for interest-free loans and short and long term investments in order to attain agricultural self-sufficiency and provides certain credit facilities for farmers for the direct purchase of agricultural tools and equipment under Islamic contracts.

Concerning the coordination between the Sepah Bank and the Agricultural Bank to provide more services to the oppressed farmers of this region, he said: The Sepah Bank will provide the rial credits of the Agricultural Bank and will put agricultural machinery at the disposal of farmers through installment sales

and leasing with the option to buy and even temporary partnership.

He added: To expand agriculture, in the course of the current year, the largest part of interest-free deposits have been utilized in the agricultural sector, which in itself will be very effective in the blossoming of the Islamic economy.

10,000

CSO: 4640/201

## IRAN

### BRIEFS

AFGHAN ELECTED TO MAJLIS--An Afghan official, whose participation was earlier personally rejected by Ruhollah Khomeyni in the first elections for the post of president in the Iranian Republic because he was a foreign national, has now been elected by over 1 million fake votes as a deputy in the Majlis from Tehran constituency. This man does not disclose his real name but goes under the alias of Jalaleddin Farsi and has succeeded in taking part in the elections and has been elected as a fake candidate of the Tehran citizens in the Islamic legislature. [Text] [GF261940 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian 1330 GMT 26 Apr 84]

CSO: 4640/204

## SOLAR TRAINING CENTER PLANNED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Apr 84 p 8

[Article by Sikander Hayat]

[Text] ISLAMABAD, April 15--The ESCAP has agreed in principle to set up its first regional solar energy training centre in Pakistan, it was learnt here today. The formal announcement to the effect is expected to be made next week when the ESCAP meets for its annual conference in Tokyo.

The centre, to be attached to one of the three solar stations now in operation, will run four courses of 10-week duration each every year. The Director General, Energy Resources, Pakistan, will head the new institute.

Pakistan has been chosen for this centre in view of its pioneering work in harnessing solar energy for electrification of remote villages. Already three solar systems are in operation, and another 11 such village solar electrification systems will become operational during the current calendar year.

Villages where solar stations will be installed include Kharan in Baluchistan where a 125 KW system will be set up. Other locations are: Dittal Lighari in Sind (15 KW), Bakkar in Punjab (30 KW), Skardu and Gilgit in Northern Areas (30 KW systems each), Patkin in Baluchistan (15 KW), Bikar in Marri Area in Baluchistan (25 KW), near Multan (50 KW), Makran (two 50 KW systems) and Cholistan (30 KW), which gives a total capacity of over 500 KW for the financial year 1984-85.

Since the setting up of the first solar station at Minmiala near Chakwal in December 1981, when the foreign exchange component of the cost was about 90 per cent, the indigenisation of the solar electrification process has been stepped up. Now the foreign exchange costs do not exceed 40 per cent of the total investment. The cost per watt capacity has also been brought down from 30 dollars to about 10 dollars.

The main obstacle to the expansion of the solar electrification programme is presently the high cost of the photovoltaic cells in the production of which no worth while progress has taken place in Pakistan so far. The imported equipment being deployed on various sites costs at the rate of about one lakh rupees per kilowatt (1000 watts) against per kilowatt costs of hydel at Rs. 17,000 and thermal at Rs. 30,000.

However, a breakthrough, which means one-dollar-per-watt cost, is expected towards the end of next year when a joint venture between a Pakistani concern and a foreign firm will go into commercial production of photovoltaic cells.

Experts are of the view that solar electrification being one time cost and requiring no maintenance is cheaper and more reliable than diesel generation in the remote and energy deficit areas.

Although Pakistan is keen on building up its own photovoltaic production capacity, a number of international companies are competing hard to enter this market. Arco and Solarex of the United States, Kyocera, Komatsu and Sharp of Japan, Solarforce of France and AEG Telefunken are already involved in one or other capacity.

International organisations and countries, including EEC, UN France and West Germany, are expected to provide about 12 million grants for solar village electrification in the next two years. The rupee component would be easily available in view of the fact that the Sixth Five-Year Plan has allocated Rs. 1500 million for the development of renewable sources of energy.

The Pakistan solar energy programme will receive another big boost next week when the 17th FAO conference being held here will devote a special session to the exploitation of enormous sun power and other renewable sources of energy for the betterment of rural life.

CSO: 4600/530



MINERAL DEVELOPMENT IN NWFP: PLANS DISCUSSED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Apr 84 p 7

[Text] PESHAWAR, April 15--Provision of Rs. 5 billion has been made in the 6th Plan for mineral development, and this was almost 12 times the 5th Plan allocation.

This was stated by the provincial Minister for Finance, Industries and Mineral Development, Salim Saifullah, while talking to deputation of mine owners in Swat on Saturday.

He said a mining facilities board would be set up in the near future on the pattern of the industrial facilities board to remove the difficulties faced by mining operations in the province.

He said the provincial government was giving top priority to the mineral sector, and more than Rs. 22 million had been earmarked for it in the current financial year. The integrated Kakul phosphate project was being implemented with British assistance, while work on the mining of Lagarban phosphate deposits would be taken in hand in the near future.

Other projects included the development of salt and gypsum mines in Karak district, an SDA-PMDC joint venture and exploration for lead, zinc, copper and molybdenum.

The minister referred to the mining of the vast reserves of marble in NWFP and said a pilot project was being commissioned very soon to train mine owners in modern mining methods, as a large quantity of marble was being wasted by using an outdated blasting process. He hoped mine owners would take full advantage of the project, and also send their staff to foreign countries to acquire advanced training.

CSO: 4600/530

JUI LEADER PREDICTS ELECTIONS WILL NOT BE HELD

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 27 Mar 84 p 1

[Interview with Maulana Fazlur Rahman, general secretary of Jamiat-ul Ulema-e Islam [JUI] (Fazlur Rahman group), by Hafiz Abdul Khaliq; date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] [Question] Maulana, why is it that in our country there has never been a political party strong enough to carry on a campaign single-handed? History shows us that whenever there was a movement in the country, a great many parties had to join forces to struggle for it.

[Answer] Great parties emerge only when the political parties and politicians have been tested repeatedly by the people. This testing is done through elections. If there had been regular elections in the country, only one or two parties would have been left by now. There are only two parties in Britain because the nation has been evaluating them again and again. In India there is the Congress and the Janta Party, which is another form of the Congress. There are small parties in every country, but they are not given any importance. If we could give regularity to elections, after a few elections only a few parties would be left in the country. Remember how many parties there were in 1970 and how many were left in 1977. The National United Front had become one party. If elections had taken place once or twice more, only two parties would have been left, and they would have competed for power.

[Question] You have said that our rulers are influenced by foreign powers, and some people say that the MRD is an American-oriented movement. Why is it that every campaign we begin has the name of a foreign power attached to it?

[Answer] When we began the movement of the United Front, it had a background and everybody knew it. We were campaigning against the 6 years of cruel rule of the Pakistan People's Party [PPP]. The leaders of the United Front were against U.S. imperialism. Our new movement has no foreign power behind it. It is a fact that when people rise for a purpose foreign powers try to gain their own ends through that agitation. That is a persistent problem. But it is totally false to say that movements of the United Front and the MRD were instigated by foreign powers.

[Question] Some people say that the ruler of our country has always been the chief of the army staff.

[Answer] Yes, during the martial law.

[Question] Even if there is no martial law?

[Answer] That is a tragic and painful fact. Why does our country not develop a strong national government? Why are smaller countries turned into battlegrounds for the super powers? We need a strong national government.

[Question] To what extent has the MRD campaign, begun on 14 August 1983, been a success?

[Answer] When a movement starts, nobody can predict how far it will succeed. We had a purpose and we started a campaign, though the circumstances were extremely adverse. We had to work under unbearable restrictions. No politician was allowed to visit other provinces. Political activity was a crime. Owing to the great restrictions, politicians could not reach the political workers. We started the movement despite the difficulties and I think we have achieved some success. We do despair of the MRD and its achievements. I do not claim to have achieved complete success, but we have started a wave of new sensibility, and that is a sign of success. Now other parties are working for the same end.

[Question] Punjab did not join your campaign. What do you think was the cause?

[Answer] If by campaign you only mean clashes that lead to death and destruction, we do not agree with you. We want to have a nonviolent movement. We started it as a peaceful campaign that was carried on in all of the provinces, in addition to Sind. The people of Sind had a greater sense of deprivation and joined the campaign in greater numbers. If people of other provinces had behaved like the people of Sind, they would have met with the same dire consequences. MRD has been accused of adopting destructive measures. If we had been in favor of destruction we could have caused it in Punjab, Baluchistan and the Frontier Province, too. But nothing happened there. More people had joined the movement in Sind, therefore they were punished more severely. I do not say that there was no campaign in Punjab. Processions were stopped, and workers were jailed. We could not make the agitation province-wide in Punjab, as we had little or no communication with the workers. We could not wait, as the campaign had to be started. We began this movement to bring democracy nearer. Now (God be thanked), martial law cannot continue by its own sweet will. We have made the administration realize that we are here to shorten the duration of the martial law.

[Question] You admit that other provinces were not as enthusiastic about your campaign as Sind. Your party is considered to be very strong in

Baluchistan and the Frontier Province. Have you by any chance lost your hold on these provinces?

[Answer] As a matter of fact, the majority of JUI members is in Baluchistan and the Frontier Province, but as the Jamiat was taken up with its own internal problems, it could not organize its workers. When we were holding our meeting of MRD in Karachi on 4 August, I made it clear that we were stopping our activities for 2 months. External difficulties were added by the martial law. Maybe that is why nothing of note happened in those provinces during that period.

[Question] Is it possible that Baluchistan and the Frontier Province did not join your campaign because the politicians had connections with the governors and because of the construction work that was being done there?

[Answer] That is not so. The people of Baluchistan and the Frontier Province have great political awareness. There is no connection between the governor of the Frontier Province and the politicians. The governor met Wali Khan, but it was a short visit at the hospital, and the two did not reach agreement on anything.

[Question] Did they discuss this matter?

[Answer] Only as much as was published in the newspapers. The government has never taken the politicians into its confidence nor tried to negotiate with them on any serious matter. They are not taking us into their confidence now. If they continue this attitude in the future, the consequences will not be positive and constructive.

[Question] There is an impression that ever since the death of Mufti Mahmud, the Jamiat has lost its hold on the Frontier Province and Baluchistan and Jamaat-e Islami is taking its place.

[Answer] No; our analysis is quite different. We believe that JUI is as strong in its particular circles as it ever was. Our strength will be proved at the polls. We should not say anything before that. We have complete confidence in our electorate.

[Question] Some politicians are talking about confederation. What is your opinion?

[Answer] As far as the rights of the different provinces are concerned, we think they are quite inadequate. They do not satisfy the people and no stable provincial government can be formed on their basis. We are in favor of amendments to the constitution, but we give this right only to a representative parliament. We cannot allow a non elected parliament or a nominated government to amend a constitution that was adopted by the whole nation unanimously. This will only increase the problems instead of solving them. We do not want that. Things that are settled should remain so. As for confederation, it is another word for cutting the country

into pieces. We are definitely against it. We think that the government itself is sponsoring this scheme in order to increase the problems in the country. We have interviewed some important people in the country, who told us that the administration wants them to say these things. The government has full knowledge of what is being said about it.

[Question] Mumtaz Ali Bhutto is demanding confederation with great vehemence. Is he doing so on the orders of the administration?

[Answer] Not even the PPP agrees with him on this matter. The MRD cannot demand an answer from the PPP, but the PPP can demand an answer from him for saying such things. This can be done only when he comes out of the jail, or at the MRD meeting, where everybody will be present, and he will have to explain why he advanced such a scheme.

[Question] Let us come to your party now. It is said and you have mentioned it, too, that efforts are being made to reunite the two sections of the JUI. To what extent have the efforts been successful?

[Answer] Maulana Habib has started his efforts in this connection, and Maulana Zahidur Rashidi came to meet me for this purpose. As a matter of fact, we have always encouraged any efforts that are made to create good will between the two sections. We do not want there to be a rift between the learned people of the country. However, we cannot yet make public all that has been said between us. But it is too late now even to think of leaving MRD. Our workers have made sacrifices for it, and there is no question of our leaving it. We will not even listen to anyone who wants us to do so. Our workers' sacrifices must not be wasted. We joined MRD when our dissident friends wanted us not to. Now there is no question of our leaving it.

[Question] Do you think there is any life in President Zia's promise, made in a speech on 12 August 1983 that he will prepare for the elections by March 1985?

[Answer] Whatever program he had made, his Peshawer speech has falsified it. He did not give an election schedule, only an election manifesto. Our expectation that he will not hold the elections will be fulfilled.

He is trying to obstruct the elections.

You will be astonished to learn that the certificate for a person's eligibility to be a candidate in the election will be issued by a person who himself will be ineligible. Now how can an ineligible person give certificate of eligibility to another? Then it is said that persons of ill-repute, such as thieves and the corrupt, will not be allowed to cast votes. Is not the life of those who issue the certificates of eligibility full of corruption? Are not people sick of their evil activities? What they are saying is nothing more than barefaced hypocrisy. A vote is a kind of permission that people give to a ruler to run the government. A sinner as well as a good man has the right to vote. Again,

what is the standard for a man being a sinner or otherwise? What are the moral standards of those who pass judgment? How virtuous are they? Do they rule the country according to Islamic laws? Their method is one of repression and cruelty. How can they give Islamic rule to the people when their own attitude is un-Islamic?

[Question] This means that the government is not sincere in its promise to hold elections?

[Answer] There will be no elections, and if there are, they will be Ziaul Haq's elections, not those of the people.

[Question] Ziaul Haq in his 12 August speech mentioned a supreme council. What do you think?

[Answer] The martial law government claims that it wants to give the country a democratic system that will close the doors on martial law forever. The establishment of a supreme council gives the lie to this very claim. If there is a supreme council, the danger of martial law will always be present; it will not bar the way to a future martial law. Can the people who destroyed democracy to bring martial law bar the way to martial law and bring democracy? The army in a country is like a watchman protecting a house. Now if the watchman enters the house with his gun, takes possession of everything and makes the master his slave, no man in his senses would condone such action.

Every military man has the right to vote, and he uses this right. In this way, the public representatives in the parliament are their representatives as well. This is a privilege of the army. In the future, the civil servants may claim this privilege as well. If the civil servants are not given this right, why should the military have it? As servants, they have to obey the rulers; and only the people are rulers. Everybody knows that a government that is shared by the military can never have stability. It will always be a puppet government.

2476

CSO: 4656/131

## PAPER ON U.S. AID, PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

GF291732 Karachi MASHRIQ in Urdu 3 Apr 84 p 3

[Article by MISHRIQ analyst: "Why Should There Be U.S. Interference in Pakistan's Internal Affairs?"]

[Text] The Senate Foreign Relations Committee by accepting an amendment which makes U.S. military and economic aid to Pakistan conditional, has not raised U.S. prestige in the eyes of the world, but has lowered it. It is in principle wrong to make aid conditional, especially that aid which is being given in the form of a loan. There is another aspect as well. The arms which Pakistan buys, it pays for them in advance. The Senate committee set two conditions: First, inquiries should be made as to whether Pakistan is acquiring the necessary technology to develop nuclear weapons, and the second was that Pakistan should hold free and just elections and restore various freedoms to the people. If you look at the text of the conditions, you have nothing to complain about. But the question is what right does the United States have to interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan? Is the United States certain that those countries which are receiving economic and military aid from it are also not acquiring necessary technology for developing nuclear weapons, or that these countries have given all the various freedoms to their people, or that democracy prevails in these countries? The United States has always followed the policy that however dictatorial a country may be, if it is aligned with the United States in its foreign policy, then all is well. A number of African, Asian, and Latin American countries are getting aid from the United States and there is hardly one country among them which is run along democratic lines. Why then should there be this discrimination against Pakistan? Of course, it is to please the Zionist lobby. The Republican Party believes that it can win Jewish votes in the presidential elections by placing conditions on aid to Pakistan and by limiting the supply of arms to Arab countries.

On the other hand, the Democratic Party also would like to win Jewish hearts. Therefore, in this matter, this party is also following the same policy. It is really very strange that one should subject one's important foreign policy to factional politics. There has been a tradition in U.S. policy that the election year brooks no changes in the foreign policy of the United States. Sometimes in the enthusiasm of slogans and in the frenzy of winning votes, the administration takes such steps which do not add to the good name of the United States. On the one hand, the United States tries to make Pakistan a "frontline state" against the Soviet Union; it also wants to involve Pakistan in its policy

to defend the Persian Gulf states. On the other hand, authorities in the United States say that if India attacks Pakistan, either of its own accord or at the instigation of the Soviet Union, then the United States will not come to the aid of Pakistan. Again, there are decisions being made to put conditions on the aid to Pakistan. In these circumstances, Pakistan will have to be very careful and it will have to act in a way that it does not become a sacrificial lamb.

CSO: 4656/142



PNP CRITICIZES U.S. POLICY, AFGHAN REFUGEES

GF290712 Lahore JANG in Urdu 11 Apr 84 p 10

[By staff reporter]

[Text] Lahore---The Central Executive Committee of the defunct Pakistan National Party (PNP) passed a resolution on 10 April which assailed the U.S. policy in this region, condemned the trial of 28 Pakhtunkhwa National Awami Party workers, criticized the uneven distribution of water resources in the Northwest Frontier Province and noted problems created by the three million Afghan refugees.

Condemning the U.S. policy in the Gulf and South Asia, the resolution said that this policy had created tension and belligerency in the region, has started an arms race in the region, and has caused inflated military spending. The resolution also condemned the torture of political prisoners in Pakistani prisons. The resolution said that the quantity of Indus River waters allocated for the Northwest Frontier Province is 70 percent less than the province needs. It said that the three million Afghan refugees are creating social and economic problems for the citizens here, that they are filling jobs that would otherwise go to the citizens of the province, and that the Pakistan Government is spending 15 million rupees daily on the Afghan refugees. The resolution also condemned the government's policy of not upgrading the services of physicians, teachers, engineers, and agricultural graduates, who have been refused jobs above Grade A.

CSO: 4656/142

EDITORIAL EXAMINES COUNTRY'S FOREIGN POLICY

GF220640 Karachi MASHRIQ in Urdu 2 Apr 84 p 3

[Editorial: "Pakistan's Stand on Foreign Policy"]

[Text] While explaining Pakistan's relations with India, the Gulf war and the situation in Afghanistan in an interview to an Italian media group, President General Ziaul Haq has said that the escalation of the Iran-Iraq war has increased tension in this disturbed region. It has, therefore, become necessary for everybody to make every effort to resolve this dispute and bring peace to the region. Pakistan is totally neutral in this dispute and it has played an effective role in the peace committee also. However, it has become necessary, he said, for all Muslim countries to bring the warring parties to a negotiating table. Undoubtedly, if all Muslim countries join in this mission, they are sure to bring about a positive result.

In regard to the Afghanistan problem, the president explained that it was not a bilateral matter between Pakistan and the Soviet Union; it has become a world problem and it can pose threat to world peace and security. Pakistan is trying to find a peaceful political solution.

As far as Pakistan's relations with the Soviet Union are concerned, the president said that there were no differences between the two countries; on the contrary economic relations between the two countries were growing. However, there was only the question of Afghanistan which is causing some pressure on Pakistan-Soviet relations.

Pakistan has constantly explained that it has no dispute with the Soviet Union and on the Afghanistan question also, Pakistan was not a party to the dispute. However, the threat to the world and regional peace and security which is posed by the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan also affects Pakistan. The reason is that Pakistan is a close neighbor of Afghanistan. Moreover, the presence of three million Afghan refugees have put great economic pressure on Pakistan. It is therefore only natural that Pakistan should wish for the restoration of Afghanistan's sovereignty and nonaligned status so that the threat posed to the world and regional peace may be averted and the Afghan refugees may safely return to their homes. It is obvious that this stand is taken not only by Pakistan but by the entire world community except for a couple of pro-Soviet countries. It is necessary for this problem to be resolved as a world problem.

As far as the Pakistan-India question is concerned, President Ziaul Haq said that Pakistan was making peace efforts on a unilateral basis and that these efforts will continue in the larger interest of the region. Pakistan desires that such friendly relations should be set up between these two neighbors which are based on the principles of noninterference in the internal affairs of each other, and deference to the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of each other.

It is a fact that the act of normalising relations between Pakistan and India has become onesided. It is only Pakistan which is trying to improve relations with India in spite of indifference and a negative attitude adopted by India. If India too tries to adopt a positive attitude, then these efforts can bring fruitful results. Pakistan wishes to set up a framework of relations in South Asia which is based on friendship, cooperation and equality. No country in this region should try to impose its hegemony over the other. India is trying to become a gendarme of this region so that all the smaller countries will fall under its umbrella.

Pakistan will never accept such a situation. Pakistan wants friendship only on the basis of equality and only this kind of friendship can become useful and lasting for all the countries in this region. The sooner India realizes this reality, the easier it will become to set up an enduring peace in the region.

CSO: 4656/142

## PAKISTAN

### PAPER CALLS FOR DEVELOPING SELF-RELIANCE

GF221416 Lahore NAWA-E WAQT in Urdu 15 Apr 84 p 3

[Editorial: "U.S. Aid--Not a Substitute for National Solidarity!"]

[Excerpts] The Reagan administration's allocation of \$630 million for an economic aid and arms purchases program for Pakistan has been strongly supported by U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Mr Howard Schaffer, who told the House of Representatives subcommittee that this is necessary and beneficial. He said that Pakistan is a leading Muslim state, that its peace and security is an anchor in the region, and that if Pakistan becomes insecure, tension in the area will be enhanced and the danger of foreign intervention will increase.

In 1981 the Reagan administration approved a 5-year economic aid and arms program for Pakistan in 1981 which has to be reaffirmed by the U.S. Congress every year. Without doubt, the Reagan administration has done a lot in discharging its responsibility, but a defeat of Mr Reagan in November 1984 could have an adverse effect on the U.S. aid program for Pakistan. This was also considered in 1981, but Pakistan had no other choice.

This has been mentioned because when the Pakistan aid program is discussed in the U.S. Congress and when the voice of opposition is raised against it, then certain circles in Pakistan become perturbed. Even those well-known elements who are willing to hand over Pakistan to the Soviet Union and its satellite India, and who deliberately play up what has been said in the U.S. Congress against Pakistan become active and vocal.

Pakistan's freedom and sovereignty cannot be safeguarded by tying ourselves to the Soviet Union's apron strings. We must learn to stand on our own feet and rely on our own strength. For this it is imperative to set our own house in order. Whatever the importance given to the U.S. aid for economic and defense security, it cannot be a substitute for internal national unity and the need to develop our own resources. The more realistically and sensibly this issue is treated, the more balanced and positive will our national reaction be to the voices in our favor and against us in Washington even the United States will not be able to ignore the importance of this.

CSO: 4656/142

GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS TO ISLAMIZE ECONOMY RIDICULED

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 27 Mar 84 p 5

[Editorial: "'Patch' of Islamization on Capitalism"]

[Text] Mr Ghulam Ishaq, federal minister of finance, recently announced that the Islamic economic system was gradually being implemented in Pakistan. He added that this change has saved the country's economy from chaos and that the country's economy was improving rapidly. Addressing a seminar on Islamic banking system, Mr. Ishaq admitted that the country was a long way from attaining a fully Islamized economic system of economy, but the government is capable of it. His claim is suspect. We believe that the government has just patched the present economic system with some Islamic ideals and to consider it an "Islamic" system is just plain wishful thinking.

Islamic economic principles are no different from its religious, cultural, educational and political principles. It is simply impossible to implement an Islamic economic system in a country where inhuman dictatorship is practiced along with a materialistic capitalism. Mr Ghulam Ishaq should understand that distributing 100 or 200 rupees to a hungry family in a way that they cannot even live on it for a week will not make for an Islamic system. The inherent philosophy of the Islamic system calls for the head of state to make sure that the physical and economic needs of all people are met. The government is responsible for providing employment for the jobless, medicine for the sick, education for every child and protection for every worker. The religious tax imposed on everyone covers these expenses. Additional funds can be raised by taxing the rich. Islam does not mean encouragement of begging and the establishment of an army depending on 100- or 200-rupee donations. What about our government's endorsement of these radio and television advertisements offering 1,200 rupees monthly interest on 100,000 rupees? Such advertisements about high interest not only upset the proponents of an Islamic economic system but also those who support capitalism. Why does our government encourage capitalists who live idly on interest income? The government is persuading people to invest money in saving certificates instead of in industry and business. This practice encourages capitalism, but the government still claims that it wants to establish an Islamic economic system. Mr Ishaq should excuse us for saying so, but government officials do not have the capability to establish the

current capitalist system and the establishment of an Islamic system is beyond their intelligence. They want to reap the profits that come with a capitalistic system and draw their salaries from the national treasury.

Establishing an Islamic economic system is not child's play; it is equivalent to a revolution. This revolution cannot be brought about by one person, and our third-class bureaucracy, a product of the quota system in employment, will be ineffective in its implementation. Such changes in our economic system will require cultural and political revolutions. Is anyone working on a movement to start such revolution? Instead, do not all doors lead to the denial of such changes? Under these circumstances, how can we hope for improvements in our economic system?

The first prerequisite for implementation of an Islamic economic system is to totally end our relationship with the international economy, and this is an uphill task. You have to challenge all the powers of the present. After this, the lives of our people as well as of those in government, will be extremely difficult. The rulers will have to stop living in luxury. The common people will have to bite the bullet and practice strict austerity. Only then can this devilish capitalist system, which is spread over almost all the world, be eradicated. No new system was ever established by bureaucrats. Every new system is brought about by common people's sacrifices. But where is the leadership to guide and activate these people?

The government should focus its energy on holding elections and not try to tackle this problem of establishing a new economic system, a task that is beyond its capabilities. It promised to hold election in 90 days and has not succeeded in fulfilling its promise after 7 years. Holding elections is not even a new thing. Elections are held all over the world, time and again. Democracy is prevalent all over the world and is the order of the day. Our government, which could not even copy a well-practiced government system after 7 years of effort, is incapable of establishing an exemplary economic system. The government, instead of wasting time thinking about it, should start negotiations with various political entities and hold elections. This is the project on which the government should focus its entire energy.

7997

CSO: 4656/132

RAMAY PROPOSES CONFEDERATION OF PAKISTAN, BANGLADESH

Lahore CHATAN in Urdu 5-12 Mar 84 pp 7-11

[Interview with Hanif Ramay, chairman of the Musawat Party,  
by Parviz Hamid; date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] [Question] Recently you mentioned that the Bengalis are sorry for having established Bangladesh. They are interested in reviving the centuries-old relationship between the two countries. What was your purpose for making this statement? Do the Bengalis really miss Pakistan because of the religious ties between the two countries?

[Answer] Yes. It is a fact. Before we express any opinion, let us look at the city of Dhaka. This city, which was famous for its beauty and lively streets, now looks deserted. A visitor is shocked at the sad state of affairs in Dhaka. The roads are deserted. No construction has been done since the 1971 war. The bustle and activity as well as the wealth of this city has disappeared. The cycle rickshaws are pedalled by 60-year-old men. Unemployment is rampant. Industry has been totally destroyed; no new industry has been established. Our Bengali brothers finally have begun to realize that India played an important role in this destruction. The plunder and destruction that the Indian Army carried out in Bangladesh was blamed on Pakistan, but the Bengalis now know the facts and who spread lies against a united Pakistan. The Bengalis lost everything by walking into the trap set up by India.

I would like to add that in 1970, talks between Mr Bhutto, chairman of the PPP, and Mr Mujibur Rahman had just begun. I took part in those talks. In 1971, Bhutto went to Dhaka with a large deputation of PPP members to negotiate with Mujibur Rahman. To set up some common rules, both leaders had established five-member committees of their deputations. I was the convenor of the PPP committee, and I had the opportunity to meet with Sheikh Mujib and other Bangali leaders. A large number of Bangladesh leaders knows me personally because of my involvement there. I also visited Dhaka several times when I worked for the Muslim League during the Ayub era. I had good contacts both in political and media circles in East Pakistan. Many politicians, journalists and other people from Bangladesh have met me here in Pakistan and in the United States. Even now, Bangali friends keep me informed about the politics there via various channels.

Based on all these reports from leaders in Bangladesh, I can say that many Bengalis desire stronger ties with Pakistan via some kind of confederation or a loosely defined federation. It is deplorable that our previous and present governments turned a cold shoulder to these requests. According to my sources, the late Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the late Gen Ziaul Rahman had tried to contact the previous Pakistani Government for negotiations. The Pakistani Government, however, paid no heed to these requests. General Irshad, who is now the president of Bangladesh, continued to make such requests, but our government never encouraged talks in this direction. I believe that the Pakistani people are equally interested in having strong ties with Bangladesh Muslims. If we establish some kind of confederation or federation, both countries will benefit. The government should give this its immediate attention.

[Question] Mr Ramay, would you mind providing additional details about these political leaders who are interested in Bangladesh having strong ties with Pakistan?

[Answer] It is not advisable to reveal details about these politicians. My party has a regular program in this regard. We are doing our homework now. Later, at the invitation of some Bangladesh friends, I will visit Bangladesh with some members of my party. We will work up some ideas there and then force our government to establish ties with Bangladesh. Our Bengali friends there will pressure their government for the same purpose. We want to tackle this issue methodically. Any premature revelations at this point would not help any one. Additionally, in order to counter the disappointment spread by the people who want to divide Pakistan even further, we should expand our boundaries. Some leaders of my party are working on a formula with the leaders in Kashmir to declare Azad Kashmir and India-occupied Kashmir an independent province. This would give Kashmiris an opportunity to establish a confederation or a loose federation with the country of their choice. If Kashmir decides to join Pakistan, then the joint federation of Kashmir, Bangladesh could be called the "United States of Pakistan."

[Question] Can India dare give such freedom to Kashmiris?

[Answer] Many changes are going to take place in this subcontinent. The first step would be the union of Bangladesh and Pakistan. Once this is accomplished, the Indian leaders will not be able to control Bangladesh. You must have read in the newspapers that Dr Farooq Abdulla, prime minister of occupied Kashmir, is a strong supporter of this plan. Actually, this is the main reason for his differences with the Indian leaders. Mr. Faiz Ahmed Faiz is correct in his statement that without Kashmir, Pakistan's map is incomplete. It is Pakistan's duty to free the Kashmiris from India's rule, and Pakistan should not hesitate to do its duty.

In the Tashkent and Simla pacts it was decided to solve various problems by negotiations. No action was taken on the decisions made in these two talks. We are asking our government to take the initiative in opening



talks and finding solutions to these problems. If the present government is not capable of such a task, then it should give us the opportunity to take this issue over so that we can solve the Kashmir problem and complete the map of Pakistan. The generation that saw Pakistan disintegrate will see it whole during its lifetime.

7997

CSO: 4656/124

MAZARI SUPPORTS JUP'S STAND ON ELECTIONS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 12 Apr 84 p 1

[Article by Murtaza Malik]

[Text] PESHAWAR, April 11--The NDP President, Sardar Sher Baz Mazari, has said that his party agreed in principle with the One-Point Programme suggested by JUP for the restoration of democracy but it could be formally considered only when it was routed through the MRD.

Talking to newsmen at the Bilour House shortly after his arrival in Peshawar this morning he said that any suggestion conveyed to the MRD components individually could create unnecessary suspicion. He, however, believed that none of the MRD partners and other democratic forces would differ with the programme which envisaged a joint struggle to get rid of martial law and revival of the democratic order under the 1973 Constitution. Of late, he observed, one did feel a happy change in the Jamaat-e-Islami's attitude towards the MRD and its four demands but there was no possibility of a dialogue with the JI unless it categorically declared that it would not take part in partyless elections. The partyless polls in the past he pointed out had promoted groupism and personal politicking as the people elected under the arrangement became tools in the hands of the Government.

Asked if he expected elections by March next as committed by the President, he suggested "President Zia should be asked about it. He said that the MRD and other democratic forces all corresponded to the 1973 Constitution and any impression being created by the Government to the contrary was a bid to prolong its stay in power. He said that there was no consistency in the President's statements and as a result of the contradictory contentions the credibility gap had increased. He claimed that the PNA in no way was responsible for the imposition of martial law as it had almost thrashed out the issues with the PP government and the former in fact had no knowledge of such a development. But when the armed forces realised that the warring sides were about to reach an agreement they stepped in to take over the reins. The primary task of the armed forces, he added, was to defend the borders and they had no business to dabble in the politics of the country. They were not supposed to go beyond the laid down role.

Sardar Mazari said that the MRD was not a political or election alliance but only an arrangement on the basis of four points to strive for the revival of democracy. In this process the NDP had never taken into account the bitterness of the past as it believed that any differences among the MRD components would benefit the martial law Government. Therefore, without bothering about the Left-Right debate, the NDP favoured greater unity among all the democratic forces. He said that the MRD struggle had been very successful as not only the people had stood up against the army but also the smaller provinces. That, he said, was the biggest gain of the movement. He, however, added that the struggle for the restoration of the people's rights was a long one but it was bound to yield fruit one day.

Asked about the situation in Sind, the NDP President said that the law and order in that province was in a shambles and the Government was grossly mistaken if it thought that the movement in Sind had been suppressed by force. Mere change of faces, he said, would make no difference and the real answer to the problem was to remove the sense of deprivation, ensure justice and solve the legitimate problems. He said that a number of persons who had nothing to do with the movement had also been killed in Sind.

Begum Nasim Wali, who was also present at the press conference, told a questioner that the NDP in NWFP had played its full role in the MRD struggle in accordance with its decisions and offered the largest number of arrests.

CSO: 4600/526

# WOMEN PROTEST PROPOSED LAW OF EVIDENCE

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 12 Apr 84 p 1

[Text] LAHORE, April 11--Representatives of various women's organisations today took out a procession to protest against the proposed law of Qisas and Diyat.

The call was given by Women's Action Forum (National). The other women's organisations include the Women's Action Forum (Democratic), Punjab, Women Lawyers Association and Tehrike Khwateen.

The women gathered today at Regal Chowk, at 2 p.m. carrying various placards and banners inscribed with the slogans, "We Are Full Human Beings", "We Do Not Accept Proposed Law of Qisas and Diyat", "Women Half Witness Not Acceptable", "Long Live Women Unity", "Choudhary Altaf Zindabad" and "Half Diyat Not Acceptable".

A procession consisting of about 50 women started from Regal Chowk and proceeded towards the Lahore High Court as a result of which traffic on Shahrah-e-Quaid-e-Azam remained suspended for some time. Traffic Police and other officers of the District Administration were present, and they faced a lot of difficulty in diverting the traffic to other routes during the peak traffic hours.

As the procession marched onwards, the gate on Fane Road was closed in order to prevent the women from entering the High Court's premises. At this stage the women agitators staged a sit-in on the road for a few minutes to register their protest.

From High Court Chowk, the women's procession started towards GPO, raising various slogans. When it reached a crossing the guards posted at the Lahore High Court closed the gate opposite the General Post Office. At the GPO Crossing, the women after demonstrating for a few minutes, dispersed peacefully.

The Women's Action Forum (National) in a statement said: "Islam ordains women to keep the same number of fasts, pray for the same number of times, perform haj in the same way, give the same alms, and be meted out the same punishment. On what basis then has the Council of Islamic Ideology proposed half Diyat for women?"

The statement said: "There is not a single verse in the holy Quran which excludes women as a witness in cases of murder. Nor is there any indication anywhere that Diyat differs with sex, caste, colour, or creed". It asked: "On what basis then has the CII put forth these ridiculous and baseless assumptions?" They stressed that no amendments to the Choudhry Altaf Hussain's draft would be accepted.

WAF called upon all citizens of Pakistan to register their protest against all laws which discriminate against women and against other sections of society.

Women's Action Forum (Democratic) has also issued a statement saying that the women of Pakistan had resisted the passage of laws being proposed in the so-called Islamisation process. It demanded that in spite of the dissenting notes from various members the debate on all laws recommended by the CII should be stopped and before the promulgation of any Islamic laws, the basic source of Islamic legislation must be determined. Not only that, the qualification of persons competent to determine these sources and to codify them into laws must be ascertained by the consensus of the people of Pakistan. It said: "Legislation on religious laws is a sacred and serious affair and we firmly believe that any law that infringes upon the rights of any individual or section of the society cannot be Islamic. Therefore, till unanimity of views is achieved, such recommendations should be shelved and not presented for debate."

CSO: 4600/526

INFLATION SAID TO BE AT 9.25

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 12 Apr 84 p 8

[Text] KARACHI, April 11--The rate of inflation in Pakistan during last seven years had been 9.25 per cent against about 12 per cent during the 70s according to consumer price index (CPI).

This was stated by Dr. Nasim M. Sadiq, Director General, Federal Bureau of Statistics, in his opening address at the workshop on consumer price indices and rate of inflation here today.

The two-day workshop is being attended by eminent writers, scholars and journalists.

Underlying the importance of CPI these days, Dr. Sadiq said that like other developing countries, Pakistan is also confronted with the problem of inflation.

Dr. Sadiq said that the rate of inflation is considered to be closely related to expansion in monetary assets. It is noteworthy that in 1982-83 the monetary assets increased by about Rs. 30 billion whereas the savings (in current prices) of private sector increased by Rs. 24 billion. This means that a substantial part of monetary expansion was absorbed in financial savings by private sector. It would be interesting to note that in 1981-82 monetary expansion was to the tune of Rs. 12 billion, whereas the net increase in financial savings in the private sector was Rs. 2.3 billion. This shows a much larger absorption of the increase in money supply in private financial savings in 1982-83 as compared to 1981-82. Thus the pressure on prices in 1982-83 was smaller despite a larger increase in aggregate money supply.

The Federal bureau, he said is primarily concerned as to how the rate of inflation can be measured. It is considered that inflation can be measured either through difference of monetary assets or through a change of purchasing power of rupee. In the former case, velocity of money circulation is needed which is difficult to measure. Leakages, such as hoarding or saving of money, smuggling of currency are some other difficulties. The common practice is to know the inflation rate through Consumer Price Index (CPI). Wholesale Price Index (WPI) or through implicit deflator of GDP. In Pakistan the rate of inflation as calculated from the three series gives, more or less, the same

results because the implicit deflator to a great extent is also based on CPI and WPI. In the circumstances, the CPI has been considered to be quite suitable indicator to measure the rate of inflation in the country. In the workshop, therefore, the mention of rate of inflation will be with reference to CPI.

CSO: 4600/526

POLITICAL ISSUES DISCUSSED: 1984 SAID YEAR OF STALEMATE

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 13 Apr 84 p 4

[Article in "Issues in Politics" column by "Analyst": "The Scenario for 1984 Stalemate"]

[Text] Much has been said already on the peculiarity of the contention for political power in Pakistan, its manifold expression and the outcome of the various rounds of contest between the regime and the rival claimants for power. The latest deadline for the beginning of the promised civilian era is only a year ahead and the President has reiterated his commitment to complete the electoral process within the stipulated time-limit. But that does not seem to have settled the ambiguities inherent in the political situation ever since the Martial Law regime came to power.

Despite the fact that ad hoc arrangements in Pakistan have often proved more durable than permanent ones, the ostensibly interim nature of Martial Law has given rise to speculation and imaginative guesswork regarding a futuristic scenario. Though the affairs of government have stabilized to a set pattern and no dramatic changes have occurred during the past seven years, the political atmosphere remains filled with an air of expectancy.

A veteran political activist asked to comment on the current political situation by a London-based Pakistani journalist was reported to have suggested that no words would offer a better summing up than Ghalib's verse: Not withstanding the eagerness of desire, pursuit of love demanded infinite patience. But if the aesthetic sensibilities of our politicians were prone to more mundane expressions of desire, they, like the conventional Urdu poets, are doomed to lament the elusive promise of the 'night of fulfilment'. In order to comprehend the essence of the prevailing political impasse, one must proceed from the tangible fact that the current contention for political power is the first-ever between a military government and political parties. Like other Third World countries where the military has taken over power, its aspirations for a political role in Pakistan are evident. During the past seven years, it became obvious that the incumbent leadership wanted to remain at the helm of affairs and did not want to share power with the politicians. The regime also adequately demonstrated its will and the capability to withstand the strains of sporadic agitational activity.



The question arises as to what are the imperatives that would lead the military regime to transfer power to civilians?

The opposition political parties appear to have based their strategy for the restoration of democratic rule on the interplay of three factors: (a) the possibility of a country-wide mass movement, (b) external pressures on the regime for civilianisation, (c) internal dissensions within the regime. Though the MRD in principle still stands for the "restoration of the 1973 constitution and the transfer of power to the representatives of people elected under it", yet by all indications it would be willing to settle for any compromise formula that would ensure the eventual lifting of the Martial Law. The excessive optimism of the MRD leaders in the early stages of last year's agitation in Sind that has led to hopes of a quick change has given in to a more pragmatic approach. It was argued that though the recent MRD agitation was called off to save it from its natural death and the first round' had ended without achieving any of the declared objectives, yet the enthusiasm and the consistency with which large number of political activists courted arrests and the outburst in Sind were adequate hints to convey the desired message to the regime.

Another argument deals with the imperatives of a system that would sooner or later oblige a regime to replace ad hocism with institutional arrangements so as to do away with uncertainty and distrust. Some politicians are always inclined to invoke "conspiracy theories": the Americans would pressurise the regime to civilianise itself; the regime will have to broaden its power base if it wants a political settlement with the Russians, etc. Considering the fact that the combined efforts of the opposition parties to destabilize the regime have so far not succeeded and there seems no prospect of an imminent popular agitation, what are the options for the regime?

(a) to civilianise itself by introducing a new political system of 'controlled' democracy which guarantees a political role for the army as well

(b) to share power with politicians under the umbrella of Martial Law.

(c) to postpone indefinitely the initiation of the political process and tightening up of the regime under a fourth Martial Law.

It is obvious that for the time being the opposition parties have little room to manoeuvre and a limited choice to exercise. Their basic objective is to ensure that an unadulterated democratic system is restored and the Armed Forces do not play any political role but the present balance of forces does not indicate that the regime would consider this option. Since the opposition does not possess the initiative it will either have to patiently wait for another appropriate opportunity to launch a new offensive" or it will have to negotiate a bargain within the limited framework of alternatives that the regime would offer.

The existent balance of forces has given rise to a statement that is indicative of the fact that though the political opposition has failed to dislodge the regime yet the Government has not succeeded in demolishing the power-base

or the legitimacy of the political parties. Hence it seems difficult for the regime to overcome the constraints that impede the lifting of Martial Law. In terms of long-term prospects, one has to examine the political forces that are capable of tilting the balance one way or the other. What are the political forces that count today or have the potential to become crucial in the days to come.

(1) The Army; not only happens to be in control of the state apparatus today but is the most compact centralised and powerful organisation that has ruled the country directly or indirectly for more than half of its 37-year history. It is deeply involved in politics and aspires to play a political role;

(2) The Bureaucracy: an effective organ of state power that has wielded immense authority in the past and continues to share power with the Army. Though it does not fancy sharing top administrative positions with Army personnel yet despite its peripheral conflict of interests it has generally felt more comfortable in a non-political regime;

(3) The Feudal lords: Traditional holders of political power who have shared power in all the successive Governments and who are represented in the leadership of most of the political parties. Politics among the Feudal lords is a family affair and if one member of the family is in the opposition the other can join the Government. Their authority is exercised at two levels; besides ensuring a dominant role in national politics they would like to preserve their local 'empires' where the local administration accepts the legitimacy of their arbitrary rule irrespective of changes in the national Government. The feudal class by tradition is always inclined to compromise with a regime as long as its vital economic interests are not threatened and with the solitary exception of the recent events in Sind, it has never come out openly in opposition to any Government.

(4) The industrial Commercial class: The industrialists and the businessmen though strong in the pursuit of their economic interests lack experience and maturity of the kind that makes the landlords a formidable political force. They do not have sufficient power and prestige to run a party of their own but they are capable of financing mass agitations and their most effective weapon of registering protest has been to close down the commercial centres. They don't seem to relish democratic regimes and though some political parties may have claims to have their backing, in case of a confrontation between the military regime and the political parties they are likely to side with the regime.

(5) The students; volatile and dynamic capable of instigating sporadic agitation, which can develop into a sustained movement if it is backed up by other sections of society. Presently the students disunited on account of Left-Right polarization do not seem to be capable of unleashing disturbances of the magnitude of their encounters with the Ayub regime. In case the Jamaat-e-Islami decides to make a total break with the regime the possibility of a unified students resistance to the regime cannot be ruled out.

(6) The Industrial workers though critical of the regime are dormant on account of their small size, disunity, absence of developed, centralised country-wide organisations and the influence of economism. The industrial workers do not have the capability to play a vanguard role in any political movement. But in case a political movement succeeds in sustaining confrontation with the regime for a considerable period, the industrial workers are likely to join in.

(7) The Ulema: traditional opinion leaders; who exercise substantial influence in determining our social behaviour. But historical experience has shown that the Ulema have 'nt had much success in gaining political legitimacy. They have the potential to arouse the masses on certain issues but so far have not demonstrated the capacity to assume sustained political leadership. They have a narrow base of political support, which on account of their factional differences is further divided into small pockets of influence. Presently, the Ulema are split into pro and anti regime camps but a large section would probably opt for the regime.

(8) The Regional Nationalists: Regional nationalism has the latent capacity to arouse people and to unify them on a mass scale. Sentiments of political and economic deprivation among smaller provinces can give rise to multifold forms of protest. It may identify itself with the 'democratic aspirations' of the people of the rest of the country as was the case in Sind, or it may develop into a narrow secessionist movement.

The political forces that count today have already exhausted their options and for the time being there seems no likelihood of any extra-ordinary developments taking place that might disturb the existing balance of forces. Thus the scenario for 1984 is the continuance of the stalemate.

CSO: 4600/527

## ANSARI COMMISSION RECOMMENDS PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 13 Apr 84 p 1

[Text] KARACHI, April, 12--Maulana Zafar Ahmed Ansari, president of the Ansari Commission, said here today that the commission had recommended an Islamic Shoorā System as it was best suited to our needs.

Delivering a talk at Sir Syed Girls College here today under the auspices of Karachi Political Science College Teachers Association, he said the commission had rejected parliamentary system of government as it had twice failed in Pakistan.

He said Ayub Khan's presidential system was in fact not a presidential form of government but dictatorship since there were no checks and balances on the President who controlled all budgetary powers.

Maulana Ansari said his commission recommended Islamic system of government with one man as the head of government and head of state both.

Referring to 1973 Constitution, Maulana Zafar Ahmed Ansari said although it was not a perfect constitution but had it been properly implemented there would have been no crisis.

He said the commission had made it clear in its report that there is no room from political parties in an Islamic state like Pakistan.

Maulana Ansari said existence of political parties creates power struggle while Islam teaches us lesson of unity.

He said struggle for power was justified only if power was with non-Muslims. He said political parties in Pakistan have united only to oust a particular government and to grab power.

Answering a question, Maulana Ansari said the recommendation of the commission has placed restriction of 50 years of age for women members of the Shoorā so that their basic responsibility up bringing of their children is not affected. He said permission in writing from their husbands, if alive, was also necessary, to become member of the shoorā.

He said the commission recommended formation of 16 member 'national security council' to declare emergency in the country so that this power is not abused by the chief executive.

The Maulana said the proposed council would include the three services chiefs and others who are normally present in the capital

Answering a question, he said the commission has also recommended to make elections inexpensive and that all genuine expenses of candidates should be borne by the government.

He further said the commission also recommended to the President to make the Objectives Resolution part of the constitution of Pakistan and not merely include it in the preamble of the constitution.

CSO: 4600/526

TI LEADER SAYS SMALLER PROVINCES 'MUST BE GIVEN THEIR DUE'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 13 Apr 84 pp 1, 8

[Article by Ashraf Hashmi]

[Text] KARACHI, April 12--The Chief of the Tehrik-e-Istiqlal, Air Marshal (Retd.) Asghar Khan was gravely disturbed over the prevailing political situation in the country and has shown particular concern over the happenings in Sind and Baluchistan. The situation in these two provinces, in his opinion, is moving towards a point where, if immediate and prompt action is not taken by those in power, the damage would be irretrievable, which might result in the further dismemberment of the country. This was stated here by the Vice President of the Tehrik, Mr. Musheer Pesh Imam, who had met his leader in Abbottabad earlier this month.

Talking to 'The Muslim' here in his office today, Pesh Imam said that his party chief had told him that the sense of deprivation and non-participation in the country's affairs was deepening among the people of these two provinces. They feel completely deprived of their rights and the administration, instead of sympathising with their feelings, was behaving callously towards them. The Air Marshal was of the view that it was time the people from Punjab and NWFP stood up and frustrated all attempts aimed at damaging national unity.

Musheer Pesh Imam explained in detail his party's point of view with regard to a number of national issues and declared that his party was fully committed to the four-point charter of the MRD and there was no question of any negotiation or compromise on these four points. Ruling out the possibility of his party taking part in partyless polls, he said an uncalled for controversy has been initiated about the modalities of the future polls. The President has not so far made up his mind about this and the political parties are unnecessarily being asked if they would participate in the polls held on non-party basis. The MRD, he said, demanded holding of elections under the 1973 Constitution and the government has yet to respond to this demand. Let the Government first decide and then we will formally react to it.

Commenting on the JUP plan of holding a grand assembly of the country's politicians to launch a joint struggle for the realisation of the one-point programme--holding of national polls under the 1973 Constitution--he said the

programme was in full conformity of the MRD's four-point charter. His party's leaders were in favour of such a get-together. The Party's Central Committee, he said, was meeting in Lahore on the 26th of this month to take a formal decision on the issue but he made it clear that the MRD was not in favour of any other greater alliance. "We don't want any arrangement over and above the MRD", he declared. At the same time, he added, "we are ready to cooperate with any movement aimed at bringing an end to martial law and restoration of democracy in the country".

Talking about the issue of provincial autonomy and a prior agreement on among the MRD parties, he said the Tehrik-e-Istiqlal was not in favour of adding any other point to the MRD's list as it would create unnecessary confusion. His party was very clear on the question of provincial autonomy: with the exception of Defence, Foreign Affairs, Communications, Currency and Inter-Provincial and International Trade, all other subjects should be given to the provinces and there should not be any concurrent list. The provinces should be fully autonomous in their dealings and there should be no interference by the Centre. The political parties, he said, were free to have their own conception of provincial autonomy but the MRD should not be involved in this controversial subject. He said the Tehrik would not like the present regime to make any change in the Constitution on this account but should leave the matter to the elected national assembly in future.

Maintaining that there were no immediate possibilities of any formal cooperation with Jamaat-i-Islami, he said, the Jamaat had recently altered its thinking about the regime and we welcome this change but the people are still sceptical about the Jamaat's bonafides. "Let them first establish their credentials and then we shall see what can be done for closer cooperation with them", he said. The people, he added, have not forgiven the Jamaat's behaviour during the MRD's movement. It not only resisted the movement but dubbed it as enemy-inspired. When his attention was drawn to the statements recently made by Prof. Ghafoor, he remarked that unfortunately the Professor was a lone voice in the Jamaat-i-Islami.

Defending PPP Chairman, Miss Benazir's performance in America, he said she did nothing unpatriotic there. The Americans were themselves competent to decide how far they could go with the government of a country where the rights of the people were completely suppressed.

He said the present regime was "in the lap of the American Government and was playing their game". The modalities of the elections in Pakistan, he said, would be decided on November 4 this year when the elections in United States are over.

Talking about the Afghanistan question, Musheer Pesh Imam pleaded for direct talks with the Karmel regime in Kabul and said without such a direct negotiation the issue would never be solved. He said today we talk about a representative government in Afghanistan while we ourselves have none. The previous governments in Afghanistan were never representative of the people but we maintained relations with them. The Americans, he said, wanted us to continue to play with fire and we, putting our national interest aside, were doing exactly that.

Answering a question about the possibilities of opening a dialogue between the political parties and the Government, he said personally he was not opposed to the idea of talks which he considered a part of the political process. He made it clear that the MRD's four-point programme was not negotiable but if the Government sincerely tries to restore its credibility and establish the fact that it is keen to solve the issues through negotiation, the modalities of transfer of power could be discussed with it. These talks, he repeated, could only be held to discuss the modalities of transfer of power and not any other issue.

The people, he said, should be ready for elections and in case the elections are again postponed, they should resist such an attempt and bring pressure to bear on the Government to hold the polls under the 1973 Constitution and hand over power to the elected representatives.

CSO: 4600/526



STRIKES IN SIND TO PROTEST CRIME, KIDNAPPINGS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 13 Apr 84 p 6

[Text] HYDERABAD, April 12--Owing to an increase in the incidence of kidnappings by dacoits, people in different areas of Sind have been observing protest strikes.

According to figures collected by this correspondent, about 30 gangs of dacoits are operating in areas adjoining Hyderabad, Dadu, Larkana, Jacobabad, Shikarpur, Khairpur, Nawabshah, Sanghar, Mirpurkhas, Badin and Thatta districts.

They have struck terror and created chaos in the interior of Sind to such an extent that during the past month, people of various towns of Sind, including Sarafa Bazar, Sukkur, Larkana, Khairpur Nathan Shah and Mehar, have gone on strike for several days.

The administrations of these districts have miserably failed to check the menace of dacoities and kidnappings. It has become easy to earn money by kidnapping a rich person and fixing a ransom to set him free.

The new Sind Inspector General of Police has toured the various troubled districts of the province to boost the morale of the police force. But from the increase in the number of incidents, it appears that police are hesitant in giving proper chase to the dacoits, whose hide-outs are in the forest areas of Sind.

A police official questioned why, replied that if a policeman is killed in such an encounter, his family gets only Rs. 10,000. He said that during the last three or four months, many police officials have been killed in such encounters, but the government has never bothered to rehabilitate the families of the deceased police officials.

Prominent persons who were kidnapped by dacoits this month for a ransom included Mir Muneer Talpur, a millowner of Sobho Dero in Khairpur, and three zamindars, for whose release dacoits have demand a million rupees.

About 100 people are at present in the custody of dacoits in Sind.

The new Governor of Sind, Lt. Gen. Jahandad Khan, is not a stranger to the people of Sind, as he previously served as DMLA Hyderabad. He is considered to be very honest and strict, and people hope for an improvement in the law-and-order situation.

VETERAN POLITICIAN URGES IMMEDIATE TRANSFER OF POWER TO PEOPLE

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 14 Apr 84 pp 1, 8

[Article by Nusrat Javeed]

[Text] LAHORE, April 13--Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana has demanded that power should immediately be returned to the people of Pakistan who were the real makers and inheritors of the country.

He was winding up the second day of the seminar on National Integration which was devoted to the problems of the Political system, transfer of power and federation. The seminar is being organised by a local monthly.

Summing up the debate in which politicians, academicians and journalists took part, the veteran politician lashed out at those people who were talking in terms of "transfer of power". Raising his voice he said: "The power" solely belongs to the people, say the teachings of Islam and the Quaid-e-Azam, and the regime has to give it back to them". He said that without acknowledging this reality it was futile to talk about the political problems of Pakistan.

He said that only the President was capable of ensuring that power was returned to its real owners. Unlike Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan he said General Zia was a reluctant dictator who was forced to impose martial law in the country. He said that the President as a man of peace, piety and without vanity must realise that it was crucial to hand over power to the elected representatives of the people.

Commenting on the historical developments with regard to the political structure in the country, he said that federation was never established in the country. He said that though Pakistan practised genuine democracy in its initial years, due to the specific problems, provinces were not left alone to run their own affairs even then. This situation, he added, led to that of 1953 when bureaucracy finally usurped power. He said that since then every successive regime in the country was basically autocratic. The successive autocratic regimes he said had alienated the people from the country, particularly the people the smaller provinces.

He claimed that federative system of government was the only viable system for Pakistan as it was a country which comprised different cultural and linguistic

groups. Pakistan, he said, was a carpet of various colours and it could only be sustained if diversity is permitted in unity.

He said that Muslims wanted to live with Hindus in India, but it were the policies of the Congress which made them realise that in an undivided India they could become slaves of the majority. "We must", he said, "to avoid that situation in the present Pakistan ask the smaller provinces to redefine their rights and obligations within the framework of a united Pakistan". He assured the audience that if through such a process, mutual suspicions were removed and a democratic system was established the country would experience a renaissance.

Earlier speaker after speaker claimed that the absence of democratic institutions and refusal to hold elections at regular intervals by successive regimes had created serious problems for the process of national integration. They said that the only way left was to hold elections in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of '73. They rejected the proposals of holding election on non-party basis or imposition of an election system where candidates and voters were vetted. There, however, were speakers mostly from the defunct Jamaat-e-Islami, who demanded that elections should be held on proportional representation system and certain qualifications for the candidates should be laid down. The speakers also opined that the constitution of '73 which was unanimously approved by the peoples representatives provided sufficient autonomy to the provinces.

Dr. Hamida Khuro, however, demanded that the powers of the provinces should be redefined according to the spirit of the Lahore Resolution of 1940. She said that those suggesting a confederatory system for the country were true patriots and they were putting forward their suggestions in all sincerity. She demanded that full freedom should be given to the representatives of the minority provinces regarding the area of autonomy to restore their confidence in Pakistan. She also criticised the policies of the successive regimes who she found were all Centrists.

Sardar Abdul Qayum said that it was wrong to proclaim that Islam was the only uniting force for Pakistan. He said that despite 1400 years of Islam, Muslims were not a united entity and were divided in many nations. He said that the viable method of sustaining the independence and integrity of the country was the establishment of a democratic system in the country. He said that Pakistan was not an Islamic country. Rather, he added, it was a country of Muslims which had tremendous potential of becoming an ideal Islamic State. He said that the current international and national situation demanded that elections should immediately be held without vetting voters or candidates of political parties. He demanded that the organisers of the Seminar should ask the President to listen to the viewpoint of the politicians.

Maulana Assad Gilani and Maulana Jan Mohammad Abbasi from the defunct Jamaat-e-Islami also criticised the policies of the regime and claimed that they were alienating the people from Pakistan and Islam. They said that Islam never permitted martial law nor could it be implemented through such a system. They said the only solution of the problem was the holding of elections on party basis and restoration of the Constitution.

Dr. Hassan Rizvi, Iqbal Khawaja, Professor Hasanat Farooq and Raja Afzal also supported these demands. To make the federation viable these speakers suggested that the powers of Senate, where all the provinces are equally represented, should be enhanced.

There were, however, speakers who found that transfer of power to the elected representatives was not an easy task which could be achieved in the present circumstances.

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POLITICS: POSSIBLE CHANGES, OPTIONS DISCUSSED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 14 Apr 84 p 4

[Article in the "Spectrum" column by Khalid Akhtar: "Straws in the Political Wind"]

[Text] As we have entered the second quarter of 1984 and moved closer to the election deadline (March 1985), the Government and the opposition have come out with statements that have almost drawn the line for the future events to come. Both the sides are approaching fast that fateful stage where decisions have to be made. This explains the excitement and nervousness that is creeping into the atmosphere.

During the last few days much has happened. The half-hearted shift in Jamaat's position, Miss Benazir's April 8 address to the PPP rally in London and finally Gen. Zia's interview with the newsmen at Jamshoro and his subsequent address to the Motamar in Karachi have all given the political pundits much to think and talk about.

The Jamaat's demand that all parties, registered or unregistered, should be allowed to take part in the elections has been welcomed by the MRD. This is a marked change in the J.I.'s position; previously it was against allowing unregistered parties to take part in the polls. This has been interpreted as clearing the decks by it for any possible collaboration with the MRD. But the change has not quite put the Jamaat on the other side of the fence.

Jamaat's Dilemma

But there remains the possibility of an upset. In the first place the Karachi wing of the Jamaat under Prof. Ghafoor is reacting more strongly to the situation. Of late the Professor has been extremely bitter in his criticism of the Government. In contrast, Mian Tufail, despite an occasional outburst, has been cautious in his approach. Such differences are unusual in the Jamaat and they only show the severity of the crisis with which the party has been confronted.

Then there is the IJT which views everything idealistically--an approach that the Jamaat is finding exceedingly difficult to support. Already there have been sketchy reports that at places and on occasions the IJT has gone its own

way in its protest campaign against the Government. Still more intriguingly the pattern of protest in Karachi has differed from the one in the Punjab.

It is too early to say anything about the Jamaat's move to contact the PPP leadership to find out the possibilities of a new working arrangement with that party. But one thing is certain that the Jamaat is trying to keep more than one option open for it--a more un-Jamaat-like approach.

Significantly, on the other front, the PPP leadership has displayed more composure. In her address to a PPP rally in London on April 8 Miss Benazir played intelligently with words. She was clear, firm and yet soft. She did not betray any of the bitterness of which the PPP has been accused since its ouster from power in 1977. She said everything, yet she appeared to be holding back enough in the bag to deal with any new situation that may arise. She talked about the restoration of democracy under the 1973 Constitution, economic justice and provincial autonomy.

The foreign Press since long has been full of praise for Miss Bhutto's intelligence. Recently, President Zia and Gen. Abbasi have more than once publicly acknowledged her ability and intelligence. And coming from quarters not too friendly to the PPP this has been a great tribute to Miss Benazir. Gen. Abbasi, who has been rather outspoken has gone a step forward. A few days back he said that the MRD movement was launched for the restoration of democracy. This is a view sharply contested by the Government. It is curious that people in the administration should think differently on such an important matter.

#### Benazir's Address

Coming back to Miss Benazir's address to the London rally, she was restrained in her criticism of the Government, thus keeping the door open for any negotiations with the Government on the transfer of power. She took care that the PPP was not accused of an 'uncompromising attitude' this time. In the second place, she did not say anything that could become an impediment at any stage in the way of the formation of a larger alliance against the Government. Lastly, she said enough that highlighted the PPP's role in the existing situation. Her remarks that if the elections were not held under the 1973 Constitution the PPP as the biggest party of the country will adopt a new line of action was meaningful. Though Miss Benazir did not say anything exceptional, it was after a very, very long time that something clear has come from the PPP platform.

From the Government side there was nothing new except the reiteration of the resolve to go ahead with the August-12 Programme. Just a day after Miss Benazir's address, President Zia said in Karachi that (1) the model of polls will be decided by a consensus by the Cabinet, (2) the term of reference of the referendum, if held, will be Islam or otherwise, and (3) he (President Zia) will not be a candidate for the elections.

A consensus within the administration on an issue like the mode of polls (party or partyless) is certainly desirable. But what is more badly needed is an understanding between the Government and the opposition. And any consensus

minus the opposition on the mode of polls will hardly give it the desired acceptability. In fact, the present crisis is due largely to the lack of a broad-based consensus.

#### Referendum

The referendum (the second option) with its present term of reference will be no more acceptable to the opposition than the Aug. 12 Programme. Islam has never been an issue in this country, but the system of government has been. If the referendum is used as a device to push through the Aug. 12 Programme in a disguised garb, it will create more problems than it will solve.

Finally, the categorical declaration by the President that he would not be a candidate in the coming elections had introduced another element of confusion to the situation. Under the Aug. 12 Programme the President is to be elected by a partyless House. It is not yet clear what would be Gen. Zia's reaction if the partyless House wants him to be their leader. But if the President has made up his mind not to be available for any election under any circumstances the question naturally arises: to whom will power will be transferred? The partyless House with hardly any leader to control it (most political parties and leaders are likely to stay away from partyless polls) will hardly be an institution strong enough to rule the country.

There has been no reaction so far from any quarter to the President's statement. Mr. Mazari, the NDP Chief, has described it as a routine matter. The Jamaat is struggling to come out of its contradictions and is likely to remain in a stage of 'to be or not to be' for some time to come. Maulana Noorani is busy arranging an assembly of all politicians early next month and if he could do it, the political situation in the country could be greatly changed. In the meantime what Miss Benazir is going to say on April 28 will be eagerly awaited.

CSO: 4600/527

JAMAAT-E ISLAMI SAID DETERMINED 'TO WREST POWER'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 14 Apr 84 p 8

[Text] LAHORE, April 13--The defunct Jamaat-e-Islami has come out with 'unflinching determination' to wrest authority from 'unwilling hands' and establish a veritable democracy in the country, and thus bring down the curtain on the "shadow-play being staged at the moment."

In a resolution adopted by the Consultative Committee following two-day long deliberations over the week-end, the Jamaat emphasised that the fundamental requirement for the survival and security of the country was the enforcement of the Islamic order.

The Jamaat reiterated its demand for fair and free elections on the basis of the 1973 Constitution and made it clear that it contemplated scrapping all vestiges of feudalism and landlordism, ending every form of suppression and exploitation and resolving all problems of the down-trodden masses. It was also bent on exterminating social evils, obscenity and immorality, it added.

Expressing its deep concern over the Afghan situation, the Jamaat pointed out that it stood for the ultimate triumph of the freedom-fighters and honourable return of the Afghan refugees to their homeland. The Jamaat said: 'The President's military and civil advisers were presenting to him seemingly attractive schemes and policies for fitting the strait-jacket of facism on the body-politic with an iron hand clad in the velvet gloves of Islamic professions. The administration which is nurtured by absolute authority has in fact been further puffed up with its success in crushing the MRD campaign and finds itself reinvigorated. It is now making an all-out endeavour to curb the Islamic forces of the country and has launched a direct assault on the Islamic Jamiat-e-Talaba which has been instrumental in winning back the new generation of our intelligentsia into the fold of Islam'.

The Jamaat identified three major problems and gave a unity call to the nation to resolve these with concerted efforts. Succinctly put, there are: a) end to the present mental confusion and trend of escape from the tenets of Islam; b) stemming the tide of the existing oppressive set-up and doing away with the endless martial law which poses the most serious threat to the solidarity of the nation; c) creation of an atmosphere conducive to better understanding with a view to making free elections possible in the country and paving the way for ridding it of the military regime without compromising any principles.



The Jamaat emphatically said that it would play its full role in the solution of these problems. 'Whoever joins hands with us in this endeavour will be honoured in the world and rewarded hereafter', it said, adding 'if none comes forward we will go it alone for, all praise and thanks to Allah the Almighty, we are fully trained to accomplish all our task with our own hands'.

CSO: 4600/528

MAZARI SAYS NDP WILL NEVER ACCEPT PARTYLESS ELECTIONS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 14 Apr 84 p 8

[Article by Murtaza Malik]

[Text] PESHAWAR, April 13--The President of the defunct NDP, Sardar Sher Baz Mazari, has said that the legitimacy of the partyless elections would always be in doubt both within and outside the country and therefore his party would never like to be involved 'in this fraud'.

Addressing a Press conference at the end of the two-day session his Party's Central Committee today, he added that in a partyless elections the candidates were neither under any discipline or manifesto nor did they have any proper programme while the votes were won by the highest bidder. This practice, he pointed out, had adequately been observed in the case of the local bodies polls.

Replying to a question he said that his Party strictly believed in the true spirit of federalism which unfortunately had not been practised, and hence the present state of affairs. The sense of deprivation and other problems of the smaller provinces, he said, were because the spirit of federalism had been undone. He pointed out that the breakup of Pakistan was the result of an unholy alliance between the Army, the opportunists and the bureaucracy, otherwise the people of East Pakistan wanted nothing more than the protection of their legitimate rights but they were pushed by the unholy alliance to a position of no return.

In the present struggle for the restoration of democracy, Sardar Mazari said the NDP was bound by the four-point declaration of the MRD and so far as the reopening of the provincial autonomy issue was concerned it could only be tackled in an elected parliament and not by any unrepresentative government. The NDP, he added, wanted only four subjects--Defence, Foreign Affairs, Currency and Inter-Provincial Communication--to be with the Federal Government. At this stage Sardar Mazari asked the then leader of the opposition in the National Assembly, Abdul Wali Khan, to recall his statement on the floor of the House following the dismissal of the Mengal Government in Baluchistan. Khan Wali Khan said that the dissolution of the majority party government in Baluchistan was a violation in letter and spirit of the 1973 Constitution and as such the agreement on the quantum of provincial autonomy as provided in the 1973 Constitution had become null and void.

Sardar Mazari said that the Central Committee had decided to abide by the joint programme of the MRD and try to ensure increased cooperation to strengthen the democratic forces and also to eliminate any misunderstanding within as that would obviously benefit the martial law government. He observed that there was change in the attitude of some parties but any cooperation with those prepared to take part in partyless elections was out of the question. "While we are opposed to martial law, how can we join hands with its agents like Pir of Pagara who makes no secret of his links with the GHQ".

The NDP Chief said that the resolutions adopted at the meeting on different issues, including the political and economic situation and the Afghan problem, would be released tomorrow. He said it had been decided to start the process of party elections next month and complete it upto the central level by October next.

Asked whether the conduct of the top partymen who had resigned on the eve of the MRD struggle in NWFP was also discussed at the meeting, Sardar Mazari said that it was thoroughly deliberated and the explanation given by the members concerned was accepted. The consensus was that the intention was not to damage the Party or democracy, nor did it have any negative impact on the MRD struggle.

Asked to comment on the proposed referendum on certain issues, he said it would be a big joke to make Islam an issue for the referendum in a country where 95 per cent of the people were Muslims. If at all a referendum was to be held it should be to ascertain the views of the people whether they wanted martial law or democracy.

CSO: 4600/528

BIZENJO SAYS STRONG LEFT DEMOCRATIC FRONT IN OFFING

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 14 Apr 84 p 8

[Text] LAHORE, April, 13--Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, has said that as a result of the latest developments, a strong political front of left-oriented, democratic forces was in the offing, which would play a vital role in national politics. He said that the MRD movement had played a very important role, and it could also become a basis for a stronger and more powerful movement for the restoration of democracy in the country.

The President of the Pakistan National Party in an interview with The Muslim said that he had observed a very positive political development in Punjab where political parties and their leaders were now deeply involved in national issues facing the country.

He observed that this change could be described as "encouraging" and one could anticipate a stronger political platform and unity for the common cause. He said in Punjab there were now such forces which could pull the country out of the present crisis. People have reached a definite and positive conclusion about the role of both the military and the civil bureaucracy.

Asked to comment on the remarks that Punjab had exploited the people of the other provinces, Mr. Bizenjo said that it would be wrong to say that the military and the civilian bureaucracy were solely responsible for all the ills of the people of the other provinces. Elaborating his point of view, he said that it was a fact that in any country or federation, the exploiters' groups of the major nationality had deep influence on the people of the smaller nationalities. The exploitor classes of Punjab along with the ruling class, the bureaucracy, industrialists and landlords, had not only exploited their own people but also people of the other provinces. According to him, people of the larger nationality had the power to stop them from exploitation of the smaller nationalities.

Referring to the MRD movement last year and its achievements he said that the MRD movement was very successful, even beyond "our expectations". This movement had highlighted many basic and delicate issues.

Mr. Bizenjo said that since 1952, the civil and military bureaucracy had forced the people to surrender their rights to the ruling groups and forced

them to accept it as a principle of policy that only the ruling groups had the right to rule Pakistan.

The MRD movement he said, had frustrated all such attempts by these groups who wanted to usurp the people's right to rule. The most important achievement of this movement was that the people of Pakistan had strongly expressed their will that they were not prepared to surrender this right to any group or person. The MRD movement, Mr. Bizenjo said, had created a new sense of awakening and concern in the common man regarding the national crisis. A new thinking, he said, especially in Punjab, had emerged because of the MRD movement and this was a great contribution.

To a question as to what was his prescription for the restoration of democracy in the present circumstances, he said "There is no short cut to democracy and the goal can only be achieved, if political parties succeed in mobilising the people and make the common man conscious of his rights. As such the way can be shortened to the ultimate goal".

The another question whether the present crisis could be resolved through negotiation Mr. Bizenjo said: It is my firm belief that negotiations are an essential part of the political struggle, and these could only bear fruit if these were conducted on equal basis. He said that for successful negotiations, it was imperative that the atmosphere be made congenial.

Replying to a question regarding more provincial autonomy, Mr. Bizenjo said his party's demand for provincial autonomy was quite in accordance with the 1940 Resolution. He said that this issue should not be given a secondary position, as a country like Pakistan which was a state of multinationalities, "autonomy is an essential part of democracy. He stressed that in Pakistan achievement of democracy was meaningless without full autonomy of the smaller nationalities and added that in this regard a National Assembly could make the necessary amendments.

CSO: 4600/528

LAWYERS SET UP TRIBUNAL TO PROBE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 14 Apr 84 p 8

[Text] LAHORE, April 13--The Pakistan Lawyers National Coordination Committee has decided to set up a Tribunal on national level to investigate the incidents of violence committed by government agencies since the imposition of martial law, Mr. Abid Hassan Minto, its Chairman told newsmen after its meeting to say.

The Tribunal, he said, would investigate violations of human rights as guaranteed under the International Charter and the Constitution respectively". This would include people who were arrested and involved in cases on political basis, and subsequently sentenced; such cases which were decided in violation of the principle of justice, and also cases where citizens, especially political opponents, were tortured in Shahi Fort Lahore, Attock, and other places, in different provinces. It will also investigate cases of action taken against newspapers.

Mr. Minto said that the Tribunal would consist of two persons from each province. He said that members of the Tribunal could be from any walk of life, and they would be established impartial personalities. He said that the Tribunal would hold its session, in all the provinces, and would record the statements of the affected people.

Mr. Minto said that NCC has also decided to hold a seminar in Lahore regarding prisoners in jails on April 26, and another seminar would be held in Sialkot after May 18 regarding the "jurisdiction of courts".

Mr. Abid Hassan Minto said that NCC has considered the draft constitution of the Pakistan Lawyers National Coordination Committee so that it should be made a permanent institution. He said that it was decided to refer the draft of the Constitution for consideration at provincial level. He said provincial committees would report by May 7 which would then he put before the NCC which was due to meet on May 18, 1984.

The NCC has also adopted a resolution on the political situation and expressed "great concern at the discontentment and dissatisfaction of the nation against a regime that has usurped State power and subverted the 1973 Constitution passed unanimously by the representatives of the people of Pakistan by imposing martial law and perpetuating it illegally through repression."

The meeting reiterated its earlier demand that martial law be lifted immediately, the Constitution of 1973 be restored, elections be held under that Constitution under the laws as they stood on 5th of July 1977 and power be transferred to the elected representatives. It also demanded that the Constitution of Azad Kashmir be restored forthwith, elections be held and power be transferred to the elected representatives. The NCC also demand lifting of ban on political activities and curbs on press and withdrawal of ban on students unions.

In another resolution the meeting expressed its "profound concern over the number of political prisoners languishing in jails throughout the country" and condemned the continued detention of lawyers throughout Pakistan. The meeting demanded the unconditional release of all political detenus and convicts and lawyers in particular.

CSO: 4600/528

PAKISTANIS SAID TO SPEND 55 PERCENT ON FOOD

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 14 Apr 84 p 6

[Text] KARACHI, April 13--The people of Pakistan spend 55 per cent of their income on food and the rest on other items, Dr. Nasim M. Sadiq Director General, Federal Bureau of Statistics (FBS) said on the concluding day of the two-day workshop here yesterday.

The workshop "consumer price index and rate of inflation" was organised by FBS for journalists.

Dr. Nasim said, according to the latest statistical data collected from the country, household of low-income group spend more on food, beverage and tobacco as compared to high income group.

He said according to survey and statistical report, 57.7 per cent of income was spent of food by the low-income group while 43.2 per cent by the high-income group.

Dr. Nasim disclosed that 83.67 per cent prices were increased during last seven years, according to their survey of markets.

He said 351 important items have been taken for consumer price index instead of 800 items because obtaining price of 800 items were not possible and ratio of these items were very little.

Dr. Nasim M. Sadiq also disclosed that FBS was working for preparation of wage index and labour force index while demographic survey has been started from the 1st week of this month.

He said survey of housing will be conducted from coming July.

Dr. Nasim also disclosed that purchasing power of Pakistani Rupee was higher than the dollar and Indian Rupees according to U.N. report and this was published in the U.N. Publication, "World production and income".

Later, Dy. Director General S. Safdar Hussain said, that this bureau planned to conduct a series of seminars and workshop to educate the users and journalists and for creating confidence in the figures produced by statistical offices in Pakistan. He also thanked the participants.



## NDP SAYS REVIVAL OF DEMOCRACY NOT IN SIGHT

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 15 Apr 84 pp 1, 8

[Article by Murtaza Malik]

[Text]

**PESHAWAR, April 14:** The Central Committee of the Defunct NDP has resolved that the recent nominations to the Federal Council had added to the lack of confidence and there were no signs of the promises of revival of democracy being fulfilled by the Government.

The Committee which met at Wali Bagh under the presidentship of Sardar Sher Baz Mazari reviewed in depth the current economic and political situation in the country, the problems of the various sections of society and the developments along the borders. A number of resolutions were adopted.

The main resolution said that slogans like restricted franchise, partyless polls, proportional representation and referendum were being deliberately floated in order to confuse the public mind and, besides political differences, the religious variances were being fanned, Islam was being used as a slogan by the regime to prolong its tenure and it was not sincere about holding elections.

It observed that as a result of the already prolonged martial law, the problems confronting the country had become more serious and threatened the country's solidarity and even existence. The demand for confederation was gaining momentum and becoming popular among the smaller provinces. Their sense of deprivation was on the increase while the Government was not prepared to pay heed to the situation. Civil liberties, it added, had been totally denied, the Press was curbed while there was no judicial system and the situation was being further confused through the proposed Qazi courts.

Law and order, it said, had collapsed. Life, honour and property of the people had become most

unsafe. The rising cost of living and unemployment had broken the back of the people while the workers, peasants and students were suffering due to restrictions and ejections and the ban on the student unions had added to the restlessness among the community.

In this process all the four federating units of Pakistan had created history through their participation in the MRD struggle during which the people in Sind had offered the major sacrifices while some lives were lost in Baluchistan also. Many of the people, it said, were behind the bars without trial for years and their detention could not be challenged in any court.

Referring to the foreign relationship the resolutions said that the country had been made a camp-follower of the United States and its position in South Asia was more or less the same as Israel's although a developing country like Pakistan should remain strictly non-Aligned taking no sides in the super power conflicts. The Afghan refugees, it alleged, were being involved in national politics to protect the interests of American imperialism. The people of Pakistan, the resolution added, fully shared the distress of the Afghans but the latter must refuse to become a party in the internal politics of the host country. The arms being received in the name of Afghan Mujahideen, it feared, had spread all over the country and it had created civil war conditions within the country.

The meeting observed that the only solution to the country's present problems was to hold elections under the agreed Constitution of 1973 and the rules framed thereunder the return the

power to the elected representatives of the people.

The NDP reiterated that the Afghan problem should be solved through direct dialogue with Kabul to pave the way for an honourable return of the Afghan refugees to their homeland. It observed that lack of peace in the Gulf was because of America's economic interests in the region and therefore it must pull out of the region immediately and let the problems be thrashed out by the parties concerned through mutual talks.

It also demanded destruction of unclear weapons to save humanity from annihilation.

CSO: 4600/529

ZIA WARNS QADIANIS AGAINST PREACHING FAITH

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 15 Apr 84 p 1

[Text]

LAHORE, April 14: President General Mohammad Ziaul Haq has said that non-Muslims, particularly Qadianis, could not be permitted to preach their religion among the Muslims in an ideological state like Pakistan.

Concluding his speech at the Seminar on National Integration here, the President said that minorities were a privileged community in an Islamic State. As a minority they had definite rights which must be protected.

However, he said, that a "minority violates its own privileges when it tries to preach its ideas among the Muslims."

He said that the Qadianis were non-Muslim and hypocrites and they were declared a minority by the elected National Assembly of Pakistan. They could not be permitted to preach their teachings among the Muslims.

The President said that the Qadianis were free to practise their religion and propagate their faith but only among themselves.

He warned that if Qadianis openly preached their faith for the purpose of converting the Muslims, the Government would take serious action against them. In this case, he said, their newspapers, periodicals and books will be banned and the people responsible would be prosecuted.

CSO: 4600/529

## ELECTIONS: DILEMMA BEFORE REGIME ANALYZED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 15 Apr 84 p 4

[Article by Dr. Mohammad Waseem: "Elections: To Be Or Not To Be"]

[Text]

Is it too optimistic to talk of elections being held sometimes in the next eleven months? In other words, has credibility been lost to such an extent that repeated assurances on the issue of holding elections fail to convince people? To answer these questions we have to first consider if at all holding elections is a realistic option for the present government. We should also take into account the fact that the pressures on the government in this particular field are increasing in the long term, even through the political opposition seems to have lost the first round.

There are various reasons of scepticism over the issue the government's commitment to holding elections. For example, the government suffers from a credibility gap because of twice declaring and then indefinitely postponing elections. Again, it has taken such long term policy decisions which normally a government preparing for elections would seldom take. These decisions include a wide-ranging over-hauling of the existing institutional structures in the field of judiciary, education and finance purportedly under the Islamisation of its 12 August programme, no serious effort seems to be underway in formulating a constitutional framework for holding election. Nor any groundwork has been done for procedural matters such as preparing voters' list chalking out constituencies or working out a schedule for the actual campaign.

Apparently the Election Commission is kept completely in the dark on these vital issues. The President's recent mention of referendum has sent shivers down the spine of many a political leader, especially as it pointed to the possibility of a third postponement of elections.

These speculations about the fate of elections have given birth to many interesting debates in political circles. Quite understandably the hot issue is party basis of elections. At the present moment negotiations are going on between the JUP and other parties on the issue of joining hands for pressing the government for holding elections under the 1973 Constitution. If the coming days and weeks do see the emergence of an alliance between these parties will the president react by postponement of elections and seeking referendum on that issue? Conversely, if political parties fail to reach a conclusive agreement on a firm line would the government consider it a manifestation of their weakness and then safely go ahead with announcing its own election schedule?

A lot will depend on whether this success or failure of parties occurs before or after the president's election announcement. Most probably the MRD and other parties are trying to keep all their cards safe and wait until the government comes out with a clear commitment on elections. While this waiting game is currently favouring the government, because of allowing it to choose the most profitable course and date of elections, such a game cannot go on for ever. The greatest credibility test of the present government

is challenging it in the form of its declared time-limit upto March 1985. On the other hand, once the government comes out with its final programme on a non party basis, there is a strong possibility that the MRD and other parties join hands in a boycott. Will it then lead to the same results i.e. postponement of elections and referendum? It is very doubtful. Postponement of elections before its announcement is much easier than after it. The initiative would then lie in the hands of political forces and not the government who would by then have committed itself morally to election schedule. Such a situation might finally lead to accommodate of the opposition's point of view, because otherwise it will not be the government alone but the state itself which would suffer.

The crucial variable then is the capacity and will of the MRD and other parties to evolve a joint political platform. Once the election programme is on the anvil, it will be much more tempting for these parties to the united on a minimum programme either for participating in elections or boycotting it. There are parties which are willing to participate in any elections, while others are prepared to take part only in party-based elections. No clear-cut approach has yet come out of MRD ranks on this issue. In case the latter decides to boycott the party-less elections, will it necessarily be followed by elections postponement/referendum? That depends not on what the regime plans at the present moment but on the level of mass mobilisation which the political parties would achieve at that particular time.

But, what if the government finally decides to hold elections on the party basis? It seems that such a move will upset the whole framework of political thinking among the political circles, which might lead to a sort of anarchic situation. There might be four to five big blocs of parties or one to two such blocs plus individual parties or, thirdly, a diaspora of ten to twenty parties engaged in a free-for-all. The second possibility looks more convincing because that has been the pattern in the country during the times of hectic political activi-

ty.

Taking back the argument, what if the government does announce party-less elections, and MRD and other parties decide to participate and not to boycott, these elections? Would it necessarily mean their demise? It seems that this situation, which is quite possible, would lead to forgoing informal/underhand deals between parties or party factions. While the regime might see in it the possibility of an unstable coalition of the 1950s - style, thus suiting it enormously, a lot can go wrong in the process. Certain parties might control the parliament by proxy, and thus wield more power than responsibility. The possibility of a fourth Martial Law, as was recently indicated, would then become more real, with all the attendant consequences of perpetuating political crisis in the country.

Finally, we can consider the option currently being discussed in public forms, i.e. establishment of an interim government under the auspices of Pir Pagara and his coterie of followers in the Muslim League. Such an arrangement is probable, only if the government is determined to postpone elections for a relatively long period, say upto 1987 - as so often mentioned by Pir Pagara. While a dummy civilian Cabinet can ride the turbulent waters of Pakistan politics in the day to come is very hard to believe. Nor would perhaps the political forces of the country countenance another postponement of elections so easily.

Can we therefore conclude that given all the constraints in the way of yet another postponement of elections, the government may not consider it wise to follow a path which may lead it to a blind alley. On the other hand, the only hurdle in the way of holding free and fair elections under the 1973 Constitution seems to be the quest for "positive results." The temptation must be overcome to overreach itself, and consider itself to be the be-all and end-all of legitimate political authority in the country. To cultivate insecurity and confusion in the public mind is by no means a positive factor in the maintenance of the health of our body politic.

PDP VOICES CONCERN OVER DETERIORATION OF LAW & ORDER

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 15 Apr 84 p 6

[Text] LAHORE, April 14--The Executive Committee of the defunct Pakistan Democratic Party, Punjab, has expressed grave concern over the "deteriorating situation of law and order" and taken notice of the "inhuman incidents in Chiniot, Nawabpur and other places", which have increased the sense of insecurity prevailing in the masses.

A resolution unanimously adopted at the meeting said that price hike, unemployment, bribery and the deteriorating law and order situation had made the lives of the people miserable. It said to cope with the situation there was no other way except to restore the 1973 Constitution and hand over power to the elected representatives of the people.

Another resolution condemned the ban on students unions and declared that the treatment meted out to students was part of a plan to block the democratic process in all sphere of life. It demanded that violence on students should be stopped forthwith, all arrested students be immediately released and ban imposed on their unions be withdrawn.

The Executive Committee paid tributes to the lawyers for the struggle launched by them for the restoration of the Constitution of 1973, revival of the democratic process and the rule of law.

Another resolution, expressing solidarity with the residents of Katchi Abadis called upon the Government to give them proprietary rights without any further delay.

The committee decided to formulate proposals in connection with elections of the party for onward transmission to the Central Executive. It suggested that a proper method should be evolved for holding the party's elections at the earliest under the present circumstances so that PDP could play an effective role in the country's politics like a democratic organisation.

CSO: 4600/529

JUI SAID TO BE FOR 'MORE PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 15 Apr 84 p 8

[Text]

PESHAWAR, April 14: Maulana Fazlur Rahman, Secretary General of his own group of the defunct JUI has said that 1973 Constitution did not fully protect the rights of the provinces and he was therefore, in favour of the quantum of provincial autonomy being increased but without affecting the country's stability.

Talking to newsmen here today he however added that an elected parliament was the only competent body to amend the Constitution. An enhanced quantum he said, was in the overall interest of the country. He pointed out that the confidence of the smaller provinces in the 1973 Constitution had been shattered when the majority government in Baluchistan was dismissed. He said that cooperation with the PPP in the MRD was based on the present situation and not on the happenings of the past and his party will continue to be a component of the MRD. He added that his party will have no objection to Jamaat-e-Islami joining the MRD provided it accepted the four point Charter without any ifs and buts.

Replying to a question he said that partyless elections would not be in the interests of the country as these would create a puppet assembly with the proposed National Security Council holding the full authority.

The Maulana said that acceptance of Pir of Pagara as leader of the MRD as had been suggested by certain Muslim Leaguers would amount to putting the MRD into the lap of the Martial Law Government.

CSO: 4600/529

# KALABAGH DAM: WORLD BANK TO MOBILIZE FUNDS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Apr 84 p 1

[Text] ISLAMABAD, April 15--World Bank has indicated to Pakistan its willingness to take a lead in mobilising special financing for a common fund from donor countries for the Kalabagh Dam Project costing four billion dollars.

The Federal Minister for Planning and Development, Dr. Mahbubul Haq, told Radio Pakistan on his return from Paris this morning after leading the Pakistan delegation to the Aid-to-Pakistan Consortium meeting that the World Bank move was aimed at financing the multi purpose project so that its implementation is taken in hand in time.

Dr. Haq referred to the coal mine project at Lakhra in Sind and the erection of 900 megawatt power station there and said the World Bank and U.S. aid have both agreed to the project proposal. The Pakistan private sector would be involved in the mining part while the World Bank and U.S. AID will finance the power plant side.

Referring to the decision of the Consortium to provide to Pakistan aid worth 1822 million dollars, the Minister said it was 27 per cent higher than last year and nearly double over the last two years, although Pakistan had asked for only 10 per cent increase. He said the loans will be made available on softest possible terms carrying an average interest rate of 2.86 per cent with a maturity of 36.2 years and a grace period of eight years.

Dr. Mahbubul Haq said the World Bank in particular has increased its assistance by 60 per cent and the Asian Development Bank by 28 per cent. This gives Pakistan untied assistance to be used anywhere in the world in accordance with international competitive bidding. It also gives Pakistan great flexibility in financing its projects.

In reply to a question Dr. Haq said with the latest pledges by the Consortium, it would be possible to finance special development programmes for Baluchistan, tribal areas, Cholistan and Karachi. Answering another question he said we will have to mobilise our own resources in order to use the assistance provided by the Consortium.



Expressing his full satisfaction over the outcome of the Consortium meeting, the Planning Minister said the quantum of the aid pledged for Pakistan showed a sound vote of confidence in Pakistan's economy. What is more gratifying is that the assistance has been provided extremely on soft terms in response to their insistence that Pakistan does not intend to accumulate debt burden for future generation, he concluded.

CSO: 4600/530

MAZARI SAYS THOSE WHO STALLED ELECTIONS SHOULD BE UNMASKED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Apr 84 p 1

[Text] PESHAWAR, April 15--The President of the defunct NDP Sardar Sher Baz Mazari, has demanded that the parties which are said to have suggested the postponement of the elections in October 1977 should be unmasked and so far as his party was concerned it had neither done it nor could do so because all its leadership at that time was in Hyderabad jail.

Addressing the members of the Peshawar District Bar Association here today he estimated that in fact there seemed no truth in the Government's claims to that effect otherwise instead of making nebulous statements it would not have waited a minute in coming out with the specific names. Then in 1979 the parties were required to get registered. This was a strange restriction by an unrepresentative Government against those who had been fighting for independence and democracy. Now the people were being confused through various suggestions regarding the mode of elections and all this exercise, he believed, was part of the plan to avoid the elections. That, he feared, was a dangerous trend as Pakistan had come into being through a democratic process and it could survive only through democracy. The situation, he added, was already bad.

Sardar Mazari called for the holding of elections under the 1973 Constitution soon but added the polls must be conducted by an impartial authority comprising judges of the Supreme and High Courts and not those who had taken the oath under the PCO. He rejected the proposed restrictions on the electorates and said that the intentions of the Government could be judged from the type of stuff nominated to the Federal and provincial Councils.

The NDP leader said that the purpose of criticising certain developments and incidents of the past was to ensure that these were not repeated in future. The impression created by the forces opposed to the MRD that differences had cropped up among its components was nothing more than wishful thinking. He paid rich tributes to the lawyers for their significant role in the movement for the revival of the democratic order and hoped that the cooperation between the political parties and the lawyers will continue in the struggle for the restoration of the fundamental rights of the people which had been usurped seven years ago. The army, he said, had been at the helm of affairs of the country directly or indirectly since 1951 and had there been a regular process of election, the shape of things would have been different.

## CHANGEOVER TO URDU: CAUTION RECOMMENDED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Apr 84 p 4

[Editorial: "Farewell to English?"]

[Text] A RECENT news item carried by the national Press, stating that the practice of setting question papers in Urdu to be answered also in the same language for all examinations conducted by the Boards of Secondary Education will henceforth be made applicable also the English medium schools, has left parents in a quandary. This is evidenced from the unprecedented rush at the doors of Urdu medium schools, now that admissions are afoot. Those who have had their children admitted to English medium schools, paying much heavier amounts by way of admission and tuition fees etc, are seen withdrawing their offspring and wards to prepare them from the morrow. This has unhinged the entire system, and a flurried atmosphere is said to pervade both types of schools these days.

As it is, the state of education in the country has been none too edifying. There has been a steady decline in educational standards, and the products of universities, emerging with impressive degrees, have little to show by way of their learning or the ability to express themselves in either language. While everyone from the Federal Minister of Education, Deans of Universities and Principals of colleges and headmasters of schools lament over the deplorable state of affairs, they have not been able to rectify the situation, and the downslide has gone on unarrested. Even the rate of literacy in the land continues to be abysmally low, and the entire system appears to call for a thorough overhaul--and that with a resolute effort. An in-depth study will have to be undertaken by a devoted band of educationists to pinpoint the deficiencies at all levels, from the primary to the university, and come up with practicable measures to eliminate them.

It is unfortunate that education has seldom been given the place of pre-eminence it deserves in the lists of priorities drawn up by successive governments with the result that the outlay for this vital sector has not been commensurate with its importance in the broader context of national requirements. Development projects are being conceived and colossal amounts expended on their execution, while education, which is a nation-building activity, is relegated to a place of secondary importance. We have not been able to arrest the outflow of the limited talent we have in the country with the result that we have to make do with the hordes of mediocrities left behind.

Far be it from us to under-rate the importance of Urdu, our national language. It has to be promoted and made the medium of instruction at all levels. But the process must be smoothly phased so that students do not suffer unnecessarily. A developing country like ours is hardpressed for science and technology for its progress. But Urdu has its own limitations; it has not yet blossomed into an adequate medium for the dissemination of scientific knowledge, and we have, perforce, to recline on English to enable our promising youngmen to proceed to British and American universities for higher studies for their proper grooming in different sciences. We, therefore, cannot afford to downgrade and devalue English for which the trend appears in the process of being set by the high priests of our Boards of Secondary Education.

It is time our educational authorities in the highest echelons, who have the power to frame and enforce policies, gave serious consideration to the matter and blocked all hasty or ill-conceived decisions. It must be properly ensured that the switch to Urdu does not harm the cause of higher education, particularly in the sciences, which we cannot afford to ignore.

CSO: 4600/530

PAPER PRAISES PRISONERS' RELEASE

GF230820 Lahore JANG in Urdu 14 Apr 84 p 3

[Editorial: "A Good Decision"]

[Excerpts] The government of Sind Province has decided to release 281 political prisoners who were arrested before the end of last summer and were jailed in various prisons in the province. These include political leaders like Khwaja Khairuddin, Abid Zubairi, and some other prominent leaders and political workers.

According to official sources the release has been effected under a certain formula which the provincial government has especially devised for the occasion. However, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, Rasul Palejo and certain other well known Sind political leaders have not been released. It is expected that an order for their release will be issued within the next few days.

For the past few days it has been speculated that the government in Punjab Province may also follow suite and release political prisoners.

It is a matter of satisfaction that these speculations have proved correct as far as Sind Province is concerned.

Meanwhile according to a statement by President Ziaul Haq, elections are in the offing and the election process is likely to begin soon. It is also expected that in October or November at least one election is expected to take place. Both the president and the provincial governors of the Frontier and Sind Provinces have also voiced such expectations. Under these circumstances appropriate steps should now be taken that would make elections to three or four bodies possible in the near future.

The Sind government, by ordering the release of the political prisoners, has taken a good step. It should now also take other logical steps in this direction to achieve the final objective of the people.

CSO: 4656/142

RELEASED PDP CHIEF SAYS HE IS IN 'BIGGER JAIL'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Apr 84 p 8

[Article by Abdus Sattar Qamar]

[Text] MULTAN, April 15--Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Chief of defunct Pakistan Jamhoori Party, has said that MRD played an important role against the martial law government and in safeguarding the people's rights, and his party would not exclude itself from MRD in any case.

Talking to The Muslim this morning at his Khangarh residence where he served three years as a prisoner of conscience, the Nawabzada said that now he had come to a bigger jail where there was no freedom of expression, publication, decision or action.

He praised the services of Begum Nusrat Bhutto and Miss Benazir Bhutto for restoration of democracy and said they played an effective and far-reaching role inspite of being women.

He abhorred the restrictions on students unions and trade unions and said these should be lifted at once otherwise there would be serious repercussions.

He demanded the holding of free, fair and impartial elections according to the provisions of 1973 Constitution. However, he was not optimistic that elections would be held and said that the present government was using all manner of tactics to prolong its tenure.

The Nawabzada said, 'we are demanding the same rights of vote and representation in Pakistan which are being demanded for our Afghan brothers in Afghanistan'.

He told this correspondent that President Ziaul Haq's August 12 formula was not acceptable as it was totally against MRD's four points.

Nawabzada said that the present Government was under pressure to hold general elections in the country as it has lost its image in the country and abroad during its seven years rule.

Claiming that MRD's recent movement proved successful throughout the country, he refuted the charge that it was a movement of terrorism and hooliganism. It was a brave movement for the restoration of democracy in the country, he added.

Nawabzada clarified that the defunct PPP or its workers were not involved in subversive activities and Begum Bhutto had no link with her sons or any other terrorists.

He said that President Ziaul Haq had imposed martial law only for 90 days to hold elections in a peaceful atmosphere in spite of the fact that PNA and PPP had reached an agreement.

He said that MRD would extend full co-operation to all those parties which intended to launch a move against martial law and restoration of democracy.

He called upon the political leaders to gather under one umbrella so that the martial law government could not take any action against them. He said he would leave for Lahore after a week as the harvesting season has started.

CSO: 4600/530

PDP SUPPORTS STUDENTS' AGITATION

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Apr 84 p 8

[Text] LAHORE, April 15--Arshad Chaudhry, Senior Vice President of defunct Pakistan Democratic Party has said that his party will boycott elections if these were not held in accordance with the 1973 Constitution and added that practical measures will be taken to stop what he described as 'the fraud of Government with the people.'

Announcing decisions taken at the recently concluded meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the party at a Press conference here today, the PDP leader said that the committee has condemned the ban on the students unions and the treatment meted out to them by the authorities. He said his party fully supported the struggle launched by the students community for the restoration of their democratic rights.

Chaudry Arshad said that the one-point formula tabled by the defunct Jamiatul Ulema-e-Pakistan calling for the holding of elections in the country under the 1973 Constitution on party basis, was in conformity with the programme of MRD. Further there was complete consensus among other political parties on the issues of lifting of martial law, restoration of fundamental rights, freedom of Press, and supremacy of the judiciary. He said that MRD was formed on the basis of these points. He said if parties outside the alliance backed this programme then, instead of forming another alliance or putting upon other platform, they should come into the MRD fold and 'We will welcome them'.

Commenting on General Ziaul Haq's announcement that he intended to hold a referendum on Islam versus Western democracy the PDP leader said that it could not be termed as his final announcement or programme because he always kept on changing his statement. He said that Islam had never been a disputed issue in the country. He said if there was any necessity for holding a referendum on a disputed issue the people's verdict should be sought on whether they wanted martial law or a democratic set-up. Before holding such a referendum the judiciary should be made independent, restrictions on the press should be lifted and political leaders allowed to express their point of view freely through the mass media.

The PDP leader said that the policy adopted by the present regime on the Afghanistan issue had posed dangers to the security, solidarity and integrity of Pakistan. Chaudhry Arshad said that committees headed by provincial presidents had been constituted to chalk out a programme for according a rousing welcome the party chief Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan



# JUP TO CALL ALL-PARTY CONVENTION

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Apr 84 p 8

[Article by Mushtaq Qureshy]

[Text] WAH CANTT, April 15--A front-line leader of defunct Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP) and General Secretary of Punjab, Mohammad Akbar Saqi has stated that his party would be calling an 'all party convention' either at the end of April or beginning of May, at one of the three stations namely Islamabad, Lahore or Karachi, to press the countrywide and unanimous demand of the people of Pakistan for holding of free, impartial and unfettered elections strictly in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of 1973. The JUP leader was talking to the newsmen at Garhi Afghanan, near Wah Cantt. here today.

Referring to the statement of NDP Chief Sher Baz Mizari that MRD should be invited to the proposed convention in its collective form, the JUP leader categorically stated that MRD would be invited as one organisation, adding that even in the round table conference proposed by his party in the past, MRD was given a joint invitation.

Continuing, the JUP leader stated that reaction of various political parties, so far contacted, to the one point Shah Faridul Haq formula to resolve the present crisis, was positive and encouraging, but he expected that reaction of all the parties would be known by 20th April, after which a definite programme for holding the convention would be announced.

Mr. Saqi forcefully argued that the holding of elections on non-party basis, not only militated against the letter and spirit of the Constitution but would also lead to provincial, linguistic and racial prejudices which, God forbid, would create political chaos and endanger the very integrity of the country. The JUP leader strongly controverted the contention that democracy was against the tenets of Islam. On the contrary, he stated, Martial Law, which denied civil liberties and the fundamental rights of the people, was against the teachings of Islam and the Holy Prophet (PBUH). In this connection, the JUP leader stated that even in emergencies and battles during the times of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) fundamental rights of the people were not snatched away.

Welcoming the release of political detenus he demanded that all other political leaders and workers including Asghar Khan, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan,

Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Mumtaz Bhutto, etc. should be immediately released and an election schedule be announced either with the agreement of all political parties or by the Government itself but strictly in accordance with the Constitution.

He thought it was ridiculous to propose that a referendum should be held to elicit people's opinion whether they wanted Islam or not. The people, he said, had given their historic verdict in favour of Islam in 1947. Doubting the Government's intention to hold impartial elections, the JUP leader asked that if elections were so near, why were more people nominated to the Shoora?

Later Mr. Saqi left for Quetta to attend the Seerat Conference being held there.

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## COTTON CROP FAILURE: MINISTER DETAILS FIGURES

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[Text] ISLAMABAD, April 14: Vice Admiral Mohammad Fazil Janjua, Minister for Food and Agriculture, informed the Majlis-e-Shoora this morning that at present about 3.41 lakh tons of sugar was available in government stock in the country.

Speaking during the 'question hour', he said the stock was being reduced to two lakh tons which will be kept as a buffer stock for price stabilisation and for meeting the needs of deficit areas.

To a question from Shahzada Saeed-ur-Rashid Mahmood Abbasi, he further said that export of sugar without subsidy was not possible at present because of the unduly depressed prices in the international market on account of the supplies being more than demand.

He said the country was however, exporting some sugar in order to keep its sugar market abroad.

The Minister told a questioner that the cotton crop had suffered a loss of 39 per cent, which at Pak-currency calculated at the minimum average price was as Rs. 4414.65 million.

The Minister said the actual production of cotton during 1982-83 was 4.84 million bales, while the estimated crop of 1983-84 was 2.95 million bales.

To another question by Mr. Hamza the Minister said due efforts were under way for 'weeds and weed control in cereals' with a help of a project initiated with the help of U.S. aid.

To still another question regarding the development of better varieties of fodder seed for cattle the Minister said a number of

varieties have been developed including for irrigated, barani and hilly areas.

Mahmoud A. Haroon, the Minister for Interior told the House the production of opium reduced to 63 metric tonnes in 1982-83 since the promulgation of Prohibition (Enforcement of Hadd) Order, 1979.

He said prior to the promulgation of the order, the opium production in settled districts, FATA and PATA area of NWFP was to the tune of 800 metric tonnes.

To a question by Dr. Abdul Khaliq, Mr. Haroon said further reduction in the opium production was also expected. He said the government was operating rural development and agriculture improvement programmes in the major opium poppy producing areas of NWFP in collaboration with some international agencies to encourage crop substitution.

The Minister responding to a question asked by Qari Saeedur Rehman, stated that the instructions have been issued by the federal government to authorities concerned that the foreigners of Pakistani origin (including those who have since obtained the nationality of Denmark) should be granted residential permits for one year's stay in Pakistan in accordance with the validity of visas held by them.

In reply to another question, he said Rs. 87,469,000 were allocated to date for the Narcotics Control Programme in Boneer sub-division.

The Minister told the Majlis that an expenditure of Rs. 1.910 million was incurred on maintenance of Presidential Estate

at Islamabad from 1982 to Jan. 31, 1984. The total expenditure incurred on the construction of the estate was Rs. 196.965 million since 1966 to Jan. 31, 1984.

Answering a question, he said there were 105 mosques in Islamabad.

Answering another question regarding the completion of the Islamabad Hospital Complex, the Minister of State for Health, said original date for completion of Islamabad Hospital Complex was, December 31, 1983, while the expected date of completion of the hospital was now December 1984. She said the 800-bed hospital included 200-bed for children ward. The hospital would be the best equipped hospital of the country she said.

Answering a question by Nusrat Maqbool Elahi, Begum Afifa Mamdot said: 'Yes, it is fact that the UNICEF had been supplying medicine for T.B. only which was stopped towards the end of 1981.'

Lt. Gen. Saeed Qadir expressed the hope that the country will achieve self-sufficiency in cement by the end of Sixth Five-Year Plan provided at least 10 to 12 private sector sanctioned projects come on stream.

Asked about the number of industrial units, out of those nationalised in 1972-73, returned to their original owners. The Minister said 'two units namely Nowshera Engineering Company Limited (NECO) and Lahore Engineering and Foundry Works Limited (LEFO) were returned to their previous owners as running concerns along with all assets and liabilities. —PPI

AGREEMENT ON SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION SIGNED WITH FRANCE

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[Text] ISLAMABAD, April 12--Following a two-day session of the Pakistan France Joint Commission, a protocol on cultural, scientific and technical co-operation between Pakistan and France has been signed in Paris on Tuesday, April 10, according to a message received here today.

Ejaz Ahmad Naik, Secretary General, Pakistan's Economic Affairs Division and M. Jacques Boutet, Director General of Cultural, Scientific and Technical Relations of the Ministry of External Affairs, Republic of France, signed the protocol on behalf of their respective countries.

The protocol envisages, within the framework of the Pakistan France Cultural and Technical Cooperation agreement of 1970, an extension of activities in these spheres for the next two years. Under the Cultural Agreement, there is provision for the teaching of French in Pakistan and of Urdu in France, as well as the grant of numerous scholarships for Pakistani students in France. The Agreement also accords procedures for the mutual recognition of degrees and diplomas. It is proposed that there will be exchanges in the artistic, cultural and musical fields, as well as the visit of sports teams. Pakistan and France will collaborate in broadcasting, television and films. The protocol also provides for a Pakistani exhibition of antiquities in Paris and a French exhibition of contemporary art in Pakistan during the next two years.

France will also continue awarding scholarships to Pakistani students and officials in the fields of Museology, Cataloguing of Archives and studies in stone-age. The two sides also agreed to continue extending facilities to the visits of the youth delegations, mediamen and French mountaineering expeditions to Pakistan.

Under the Protocol for technical and scientific co-operation, France and Pakistan agreed to increase co-operation between the two countries by sending French experts to Pakistani establishments, teaching French in France to Pakistani experts to improve their standard of French Language, supporting the Institutes of higher technology, and providing financial assistance for the Protocol.

Pakistan delegation included, among others, Masood Nabi Nur, Secretary, Ministry of Culture and Tourism and Jamsheed K.A. Marker, Pakistan Ambassador to France. The French delegation consisted of the concerned senior officials of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Cultural, Education and Science and Technology.

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BRIEFS

STRIKE PROTESTS CRIME--HYDERABAD, April 11--The people of Larkana observed complete strike for the second successive day against the increasing incidents of kidnapping and other crime. The entire city was closed and all traffic came to a standstill. People under the leadership of Dr. Shahnawaz Soomro and Dr. Haidri took out a procession from Chandka Medical Hospital premises this morning which paraded the main streets. Dr. Soomro and Dr. Haidri addressed the processionists and said that the government had totally failed to control the law and order situation. The processionists raised slogans against the Government, especially the police, and waved banners and placards. The DIG Sukkur Range today met with the office-bearers of the Larkana Citizens Action Committee and tried to persuade them to call off the strike but the office-bearers refused. They reaffirmed that the general strike will continue till the brother of a doctor, who has been kidnapped by a gang of dacoits, is recovered. The action committee also decided to meet the new Governor of Sind who is visiting Larkana on April 14. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 12 Apr 84 p 8]

CANADIAN AID FOR OIL DEVELOPMENT--ISLAMABAD, April 12--The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) will provide 40 million Canadian dollars in next five years as financial and technical assistance to Oil and Gas Development Corporation to accelerate oil and gas exploration activities in the country. This was stated by the leader of visiting CIDA delegation Mr. Vinette in a meeting with the Minister of State for Petroleum and Natural Resources, Dr. Mohammad Asad Khan, here today. Apprising the Minister about the details of the assistance programme the leader of the delegation said that 21.7 million Canadian dollars would be in the form of grant and 18.1 million dollars in the form of loan. He further said that CIDA would provide trainers and equipment for Oil and Gas Training Institute apart from imparting training to Pakistani scientists in Canada. The Canadian experts would also provide on-the-job training to the Pakistani drillers working on well sites. Fracturing and well servicing equipment for enhanced production from the existing oil fields would also be provided under this programme. The leader of the delegation assured the Minister that final agreement in this respect would be signed between OGDC and CIDA in July this year. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 13 Apr 84 p 1]

IRANIAN RADIO, TV BUREAU--ISLAMABAD, April 12--The Revolutionary Government of Iran is keen to extend cooperation to the Islamic and Third World countries in

the field of audio-visual and print media. The Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA) has already established 22 bureaus in Islamic and other countries, including Pakistan, and arrangements to establish an Iranian Radio and Television bureau in Islamabad have been finalised with the Pakistan authorities. This was disclosed here today by Jawad Muttaqi and Hussain Naseeri, Chiefs of International Relations of Iranian Radio and Television and the Islamic Republic News Agency respectively who are currently on a visit to Pakistan. In an informal chat with Pakistani journalists the Iranian media chiefs spoke of the imperialist attitude of the Western news media and underlined the need for more effective cooperation among the Islamic and Third World countries. They also suggested doing away with the terminology being used by the imperialist media aimed at influencing the minds of their readers and viewers. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 13 Apr 84 p 8]

KASHMIRI REFUGEES DEMAND ACCOMMODATION--RAWALPINDI, April 13--The homeless refugees of Azad Jammu and Kashmir who migrated to Pakistan, in a meeting held here in Satellite Town today under the Chairmanship of Mr. Muhammad Maqbool, emphatically demanded of the government to provide adequate residential facilities to them. The meeting viewed with concern the prevailing state of affairs in regard to the miserable living conditions of the Kashmiri refugees. It set up a body called 'Azad Kashmir Refugees Settlement Organisation to take up the matter at different forums for stressing the demands. Following office-bearers of the body were unanimously elected by the gathering: Nisar Ali (President) Mohammad Yusuf Shah (Vice President) and Muhammad Shamsuddin (General Secretary). [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 14 Apr 84 p 6]

EDUCATING OVERSEAS PAKISTANIS--KARACHI, April 13--A fresh campaign has been launched by the customs to educate the overseas Pakistanis, and other incoming passengers about baggage rules. According to a custom press release, customs officials have been contributing to the television programme 'Qanoon sub key liya' which gives details regarding the facilities and privileges provided, and the entitlements of the passengers coming from abroad. PTV has already telecasted three of such programmes about accompanied as well as un-accompanied baggage and regulations, and procedure for purchase from Duty free shops. This process will continue till the end of this month. Besides distribution of literature pertaining to passengers entitlement, Karachi customs had long been contributing to the world service of Radio Pakistan Broadcast daily on different meter bands, in which problems and questions by overseas Pakistanis are discussed and answered by an assistant collector of customs. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 14 Apr 84 p 6]

ANTI-QADIANI DEMONSTRATION--MURREE, April 12--Hundreds of people staged an anti-Qadiani demonstration here yesterday which led to the closure of most of the shops in the city. The demonstration was a mark of protest over the reported arrest of Qari Assadullah, a local Khatib and a JUI activist, who had allegedly been spearheading a virulent campaign against a Qadiani mission in the town. According to Police sources, however, the detention orders of the Khatib were issued by the district authorities but he has gone underground. Qari Assadullah, who is a prominent leader of Tehrik-e-Tahaf-fuz-e-Khatam-e-Nabuwat, Murree, is stated to have strongly opposed, in his recent Juma Khutbas, the reconstruction of a Qadiani mission building on Cart Road which had



been burnt down in the country-wide agitation against Qadianis in 1974. He had also demanded the removal of the manager of a local hotel, who is said to be a Qadiani and an active member of the mission. The issue which had been simmering for quite some time suddenly flared up on Wednesday when a Police party encircled the Sharqia Mosque with a view to arresting Qari Assadullah. Though he managed to avoid arrest, his disciples and many citizens, including students, gathered and staged a demonstration. The Assistant Commissioner, Mr. Imtiaz Ilahi and Sheikh Karim Buksh, SHO, and some senior citizens, however managed to bring the situation under control and succeeded in prevailing upon the angry mob to disperse in peace. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 13 Apr 84 p 6]

EXPORTS TO RCD COUNTRIES--KARACHI, April, 13--The exports to RCD countries amounted to Rs. 3,195.6 million during the first 8 months of the current fiscal year and formed 13.5 per cent of Pakistan total exports of Rs. 23,704.5 million. According to State Bank of Pakistan sources the exports during the same period last year stood at 1,568.2 million. The main items exported to RCD countries during the period were rice (Rs. 750 million), cotton fabrics (Rs. 564 million), non-cotton woollen textile (Rs. 550 million) and textile yarn and thread (Rs. 392 million). Pakistan's exports under commodity exchange agreements stood at Rs. 1,360.9 million or 5.7 per cent of the total export proceeds during the first 8 months of the current fiscal year 1983-84. Barter Exports decreased from Rs. 165.4 million in January, 1984 to Rs. 121.7 million in February, 1984. The principal trading partners up commodity exchange agreements were Sweden (Rs. 29.9 million) Czechoslovakia (Rs. 26.4 million), Poland (Rs. 24.9 million) USSR (Rs. 18.6 million,) Bulgaria (Rs. 12.4 million), Hungary (Rs. 8.5 million) and China (Rs. 1.0 million). The main commodities exported under commodity exchange agreements during February, 1984 were sugar and honey including molasses (Rs. 30.3 million), cotton fabrics (Rs. 20.7 million), rice (Rs. 20.1 million), articles of textile materials (Rs. 11.6 million) and clothing (Rs. 9.4 million). The remaining commodities jointly contributed for Rs. 16.5 million during the month under review. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 14 Apr 84 p 6]

SIND GOVERNOR ON LAW & ORDER--LARKANA, April 14--Lt. Gen. Jahandad Khan, the Governor of Sind, today declared that the maintenance of law and order in the province will be his foremost priority and he would see that the life, property and honour of the people were fully protected. Addressing the members of the local municipal committee and town committees and the district council in separate meetings, the Governor said, effective measures were being taken to maintain law and order. In this regard the police force was being increased with the provision of latest arms and improved transport and communication facilities. He said, evil elements and their harbours and protectors will not be spared at any cost. He said, he had full faith in the Sind police and was confident that its performance will improve after the fulfillment of their urgent requirements. The Governor, however, said the desired objective cannot be achieved without the co-operation of the people. He said, he was personally reviewing law and order situation and was taking steps accordingly. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 15 Apr 84 p 6]



RELATIONS WITH INDIA--The task before India and Pakistan is to establish strong, solid and favorable bilateral relations under which they can live in peace with each other. This was stated by outgoing Pakistani ambassador to India, Mr Riaz Piracha, while addressing a meeting of the Delhi Study Group yesterday. He said the mistrust can be removed only when the two countries have confidence in each other, and for this purpose, one side will have to recognize the sincerity of the other. He assured that Pakistan, being a neighbor, wants to live in peace, honor and dignity with India. [Text] [BK250539 Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 0200 GMT 25 Apr 84]

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